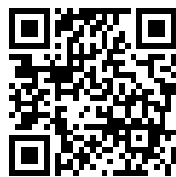
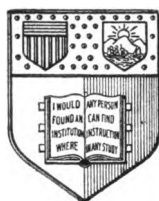

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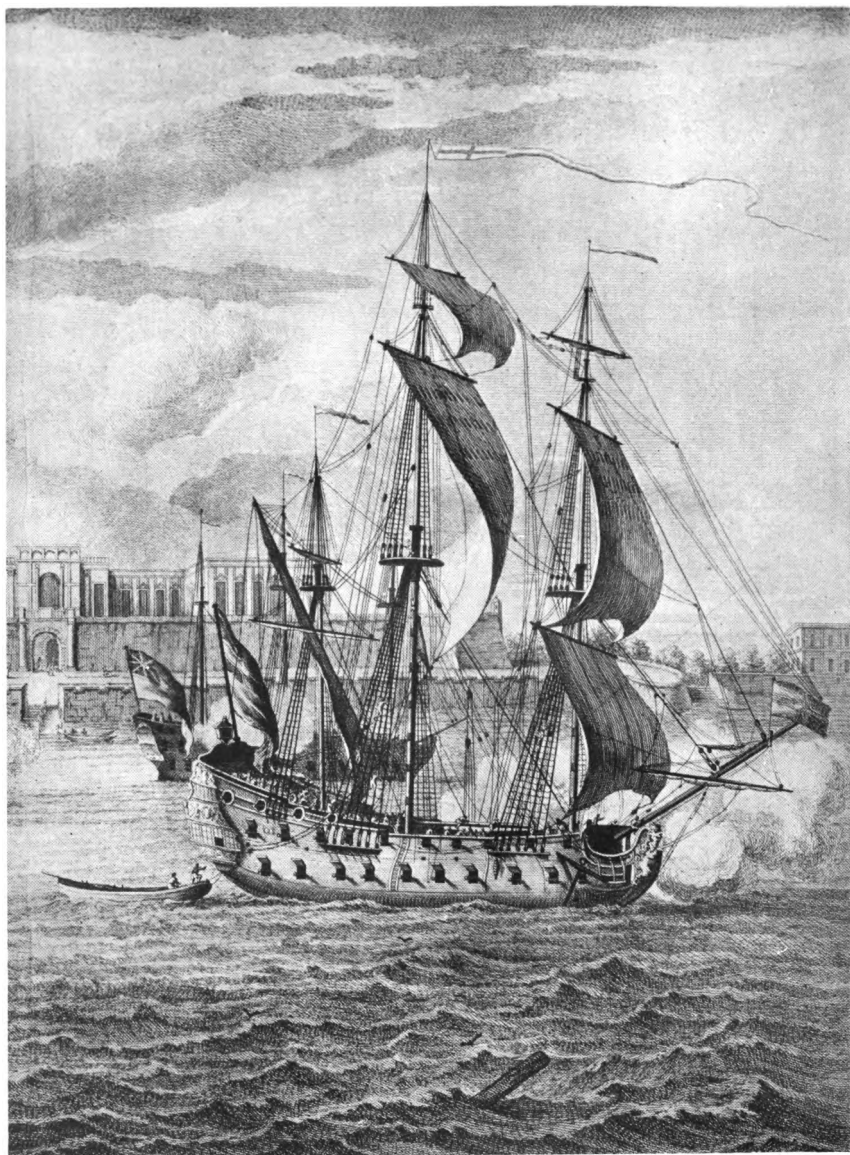
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The Chronicles of the
EAST INDIA COMPANY
trading to CHINA
1635-1834



INDIAMAN SALUTING AT FORT WILLIAM, 1736

The Chronicles of the
EAST INDIA COMPANY
trading to CHINA

1635-1834

By HOSEA BALLOU MORSE, LL.D.

Author of *The Currency of China*, *The Gilds of China*
The Trade and Administration of China
The International Relations of the Chinese Empire

VOL. V

Supplementary, 1742-74



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PREFATORY NOTE

IN the Preface to Vol. I of these Chronicles I had to lament the fact that, in the middle of the eighteenth century, the Canton records of the East India Company were incomplete, those for the years 1743 to 1753 being in a fragmentary condition, and those from 1754 to 1774 being entirely missing from the archives of the India Office. There were, however, some who held the belief that duplicate records—the Canton office copies—had been deposited in the Legation at Peking, although all precise knowledge of them had been lost in London; and by pertinacity and diligent search they were brought to light and transmitted to London. Through being stored in the dry atmosphere of Peking they had escaped the hot-house air of sixty-five summers in Canton, but were subjected to the grime of Mongolian dust through sixty-five Peking winters.

The affairs of the Company through the seasons to 1754 were managed by the supercargoes coming and returning in the ships, who sometimes formed independent Councils, one for each ship, sometimes were consolidated into two or more Councils, each managing two or more ships, and sometimes were combined into one Council while at Canton, the senior Chief being Chief of the combined Council, but the accounts and commissions of each ship being kept separate, and all the supercargoes at the end of each season returning to England in the ship which brought them out. This state of vacillating methods endured from 1742 to 1754; and for that period all that has come to us from Peking, the earliest of the volumes, is one volume of 372 pages, 18×12 inches, containing extracts from the diaries of the ships of thirteen years of such matters as were thought to be useful, as warning or as information, to the supercargoes who should come after. Such of these extracts as are thought to be useful, as warning or as information, to the student of the twentieth century will be found in chapters xciii and xciv.

For the season 1755 there were three Councils at Canton, each managing from two to four ships; one of these Councils, Mr. Pigou Chief, held over to 1756, being resident; Mr. Liell's Council held over from 1756 to 1757; one Council, Mr. Palmer's, managed all the Company's affairs in 1758, and from that time there was one Council for all the ships. Continuity was obtained

at first by three 'residents', who were not invariably the senior supercargoes; but by 1762 the permanent resident Council is fully established with Mr. Thomas Fitzhugh as Chief, continuing in that capacity until the close of the season 1767. The Second of Council, Mr. Henry Revell, then became Chief; and after that the supercargoes moved up the Council, on the departure of a Chief the Second succeeding to his place.

From 1742 to 1757 the records are all more or less fragmentary. Of the seventeen years from 1758 to 1774,

for two there are no records,

for two there are both Letter Book and Diary,

for seven there are Letter Books but no Diary, and

for six there are Diaries but no Letter Book.

I have done the best I could in piecing together the records of the years, but even those which are fragmentary I have found of exceeding interest; and I commit this volume to the tender mercies of the world, trusting that its contents may prove of equal interest to students of the economic history and the over-seas trade of the eighteenth century.

H. B. M.

CAMBERLEY, *Oct.* 1928.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

A ship of the Hon. East India Company firing a salute on
arrival at Fort William *Frontispiece*

Engraved by G. Vandergueht after Lamber and Scott; published April 19, 1736.

The Engagement between the Hon. East India Company's
ships *Suffolk*, *Houghton*, and *Godolphin* and two French Ships
of War on the 9th day of March, 1757 *facing p. 81*

Designed and painted by R. Paton, and engraved by P. C. Canot; published 1758.

[These three Company's ships were dispatched from Canton on Christmas Day, 1756.]

These two illustrations are given by courtesy of The Parker Gallery, 28 Berkeley Square, London, W. 1.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA TO VOLS. I TO IV

VOLUME I

- P. ix, l. 9. *For* woollens from Yorkshire *read* woollens from the Western Counties, East Anglia, and Yorkshire.
- P. 6, note. *For* March 25th *read* March 24th.
- P. 41, l. 14 (also p. 52, note). *After* pinkey *insert* (sic). The word is 'pinkey' in the records, but in other works it is more commonly 'pink'.
- P. 48, l. 17 seq. Sir W. Foster sends the following correction: 'There was no war between England and Holland in 1682. Bantam was an independent kingdom; the Dutch took sides in a civil war and were rewarded with a monopoly of the trade; the English factors were expelled by the new Sultan. The *Johanna* was lost by shipwreck, not by capture.'
- P. 81, note 3. Coved was probably adopted from the Portuguese *covado*.
- P. 121, l. 22. Pan (of Gold): from Portuguese *pão*, a loaf of bread; the Chinese gold ingot or shoe of about ten taels weight.
- Pp. 202, 209, 217. For the investigation into the conduct of the supercargoes, see Sir W. Foster's *East India House*, p. 122.

VOLUME II

- P. 101, l. 4. *For* subordinate *read* superordinate *or* superior.

VOLUME IV

- Index: *under* Canton Census *add* (1827) iv. 147.

CONVENTIONAL EQUIVALENTS

CURRENCY

THE tael of currency at Canton was treated in the accounts equivalent to 6s. 8d. (£1 = Tls. 3).

The Spanish dollar was treated in the accounts as equivalent to Tls. 0.7 the exact equivalence in weight (apart from the touch of silver) being Tls. 100 = 120.8 oz. troy.

The Spanish dollar was invoiced from 1619 to 1814 at 5s. per dollar (£1 = 4 dollars). From 1815 it was invoiced at the actual cost (c.i.) per oz. Salaries and other fixed charges at Canton were paid at the rate £100 = \$416.67. Bills on the Company in London were issued at rates ranging from 4s. 10d. to 6s. per dollar, for bills payable 365 days after sight.

WEIGHT

The picul is $133\frac{1}{8}$ lb. av. = 100 catties.

The catty is $1\frac{1}{8}$ lb. av. = 16 taels.

The tael is $1\frac{1}{8}$ oz. av.

The tael of Canton was actually 579.85 grains.

LENGTH

The *ch'ih* or 'covid' or 'cubit' of the carpenters of Canton was 14 English inches : used for measuring ships and cloth.

XCIII

SUNDRY EMBROILMENTS, 1743-47

IN 1743 the ships *Haeslingfield* and *Harrington* were at Canton, their supercargoes (or those of the former ship) being Messrs. Richard Martyn, John Searle, and John Burrow. In January, 1743/4, when the ships were laden and ready for dispatch, it was intimated by 'the Merchants who are our Securities' that the acting Hoppo, the titular Chunquan (Tsiangkün—Tartar General), claimed the payment by the supercargoes of nine hundred taels

for Duties on Goods belonging to some of the Officers of the ship *Haeslingfield*, that were burnt in the Swedes Factory, and at the same time assured us he had ordered that neither the Grand Chop [clearance] should be made out, nor any Chop [permit] for shipping off Goods for that Ship be granted, till the said Sum was paid.

It had been promised that the duties on the goods so burnt should be remitted, and the supercargoes denied any liability for duty on the private ventures of officers of their (chartered) ships. The supercargoes protested through the Hong Merchants that they would not and ought not to pay;

Mr. Martyn also went to the Chief Hoppo House and told the Head Pai de Casa (by Mr. Flint) that he came to demand a Chop for shipping the remainder of the Goods for the *Haeslingfield*, that the Linguist had refused to get one . . . as it was late in the Season and we could not keep the Ship there any longer without a very great injury to our Masters Interests, we had ordered the Ships Boats up & were determined to send our things on board in them.

Six days passed with daily conferences and discussions, in which both sides adhered to their declared intentions, and it was threatened that the factory effects would be shipped without a permit and, in the last resort, that the two ships would sail without the Grand Chop.

On January 22nd, the sixth day of the dispute, We ordered a few things into the Long Boat, and in the meantime Texia [the chief Security Merchant] came and used many humble and submissive intreaties to prevail upon us to let the rest of the Things, which were very few, remain till the next day, promising that he would be answerable for their being all sent down in the Morning, telling us that if we persisted in our Resolution of sending them in the Long Boat, it would occasion a great deal of trouble to himself & the other Merchants who were our

Securities. That notwithstanding we might break up the Factory and every one go on board that Night—Only if Mr. Martyn would remain till the next Day, he promised to bring him the Grand Chop.

Mr. Martyn assented to this proposal and remained behind alone: and the next day 'Texia and the other Merchants' brought him the Grand Chop, and the two ships sailed.

For the season 1744 three ships are recorded as dispatched to Canton, of which one was the *Hardwick*, Mr. Lascoe Hide Chief; to the three supercargoes of this ship the amounts of their 'allowances', being £2,250, £1,750, and £1,000 respectively, were lent by the Court of Directors at respondentia for thirty months at 26 per cent. interest.¹ This voyage was full of incident. When the ship made her landfall at the Great Ladrone on July 25th she was met by a boat carrying a letter from Mr. Hall informing Mr. Hide that three Spanish ships of war from Manila were off the coast, and from the boatman he learned that they cruised 'between Cabritta Point and Lantow'; and the Captain and Officers thought that the ship would not be able to make her way between them up to Whampoa. It was accordingly decided to take her to Amoy. On arrival at Amoy the ship was anchored in the outer harbour, which was too open to allow of the discharge or loading of cargo, and the two supercargoes on board, Mr. Lascoe Hide and Mr. Henry Hadley, went on shore to obtain the 'Protection of the Port' against the Spanish, and to engage the services of a 'Linguister' to act as interpreter in their conferences with the officials. No proper linguist could be found in Amoy, and the only man obtainable spoke a pidgin English of such a rudimentary character that he was quite unequal to the task of acting as interpreter. The supercargoes then (under date August 1st) wrote to Mr. Hall asking him to send a linguist to Amoy as soon as possible and to furnish such further information about the Spanish ships as he could; and they enclosed a letter to the Merchants of Canton, saying that they did not think that they would obtain a 'free trade' at Amoy, and they inquired if it was probable that the Spanish ships designed to lie at Macao the whole season:

We desire you will represent the affair to the Mandarines, and tell them we desire their protection, and that they would use some method or other that we may come up to Canton with security, for in case those

¹ Cf. vol. i, p. 286.

Ships have the liberty of lying at Macao, the Trade with the English must be entirely lost we also desire you will acquaint the Mandarines that it is our request, that they would apply to the Mandarines here for their Protection if the Spaniards should come down here, as it is a Port belonging to the Emperor of China and as we are allowed a free trade in his dominions, we have a right to his Protection against an Enemy in his Ports.

Meantime, as it might be found possible to obtain a free trade at Amoy, the supercargoes set to work to draw up, in collaboration with the 'Linguister', their list of privileges to be demanded from the Officials:

To have free Liberty of Trade with whom we pleased, to have a Factory on shore & no Mandarin ordered to reside therein, and likewise no demand to be made for our Guns, Arms or Ammunition to be brought on shore, to have liberty to repair the Ship & purchase all manner of stores for her if wanted.

To choose our Linguister, China Servants Tradesmen or others & to dismiss them as we see fit.

To settle the Port charges, Presents and Customs, before the Ship comes into the Inner Harbour, & these to be inserted in the Chops granted by the several Mandarines.

To settle the Covitt, Pecul & Tael weight which privilege if the Mandarines do not think proper to grant we desire we may have Water, Provisions and other Necessaries, and at the change of the Monsoon, we will leave the Port and will pay for every thing we may have occasion for.

The supercargoes were much hampered by the incompetence of their only interpreter, but with his aid they had several conferences with the Hyang (Hien) and the Hoppo (deputy of the Tartar-General at Foochow), who granted none of the privileges demanded, but declared that, before they would discuss any matters, they required that the ship should enter the inner harbour; that the supercargoes should then land their guns, &c., into the custody of the officials, and deposit their cargo in their factory on shore; the officials further declared that, so long as the ship remained in the outer harbour, they could not protect her from the attack of enemies. From this position they would not move, nor would they bring forward any merchants to do trade; when the supercargoes attempted to get at the merchants through their linguist, he for many days evaded compliance and finally produced three small shopkeepers. Day after day they importuned the officials to relax from their attitude and to allow a free trade; and finally, bearing in mind that the ship's charter-party required them to leave an Indian port for London not

later than January 31, 1744/5, they referred to Captain John Hallett, commanding the *Hardwick*, the problem whether (1) they should take the ship to Limpo (Ningpo) in the hope of trading there, or (2) they should try to evade the Spanish and make for Canton when the monsoon should change, or (3) should beat down the coast of China and the China Sea and make for Bengal. The Council of Captain and five officers gave it as their decided opinion that they should make for Bengal without delay; and this opinion coincided with that of the supercargoes. The last entry in the journal, dated August 15th, after recording that their interpreter had been severely bamboozed, ends as follows:

They only told us the Mandarin said we could not trade without we delivered up our Guns, Cargo, &c^a, and as they found we would go away directly, they would let us have the Provisions we had occasion for. . . . The Provisions they promised came off with the Mandarin we had seen in the Morning, and another with him, but they seemed to have no other business, but to know if we really intended to go away, and we having informed them that we did, they went away seemingly very well satisfied: so that by all their actions it is apparent, that they are not desirous that we should open a Trade here, and a certainty that they will not permit it without the Ship goes into the Inner Harbour, and that we deliver up our Guns, Arms, Ammunition, &c^a, and the Cargo into their possession.

This was the first ship to visit Amoy since 1704, except the *Houghton* in 1735; and the experiment was not likely to be repeated.

During the season 1747, not included in the ships noted in Vol. I, there are references in the recovered records to the *Onslow* and the *Prince Edward*, which were in Canton in 1746 and must have returned from India in 1747, and to the *Dragon*, *Norfolk*, and *Portfield*. The commander of the *Onslow*,

having refused to let his Hand Escrutoire be opened upon going away from the Factory in the Pinnace for Whampoa altho' he permitted it afterwards to be searched on board, has been the occasion of much trouble to the *Prince Edward's* Commission, as well as to the Merchants who are Security for our Ships here.

The Linguist was arrested, the seizure of the commander was demanded, and the Viceroy was informed of the matter. The Viceroy thereupon

sent to have the Gentlemen of that Commission attend him. Upon which they applied themselves to Messrs Misnor [Misenor] and Hadley,

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desiring that they would go thither with them . . . as it would afford an opportunity of representing the Mischief of the Merchants' late Contract and of explaining several other grievances which had long been wished for.

There is no indication in the records to show what is meant by 'the Merchants' late Contract', unless it is found in the words contained in the following extract, embodying the principal grievances which the supercargoes desired to have remedied. At the request of the Merchants they enumerated five grievances of which they proposed to speak.

To the affair of the *Escrutoire*, which we admitted ought to have been submitted for examination at the Factory.

To the abuses of the Hoppo's Officers in delaying the loading of the Boats from the Ships.

To the abuses in searching Goods landed at the Factories, many of which were damaged, and some broke thereby.

To the having a liberty to go somewhere in safety and free from insults, for fresh Air, and preserving our Healths.

To the having the former Custom revived, of waiting on the Chief Mandarin on our arrival, and at going away. Which last was particularly designed by us for an opportunity to complain of the above mentioned Contract of their hindering our access to Justice, and other unreasonable Proceedings of the Merchants.

The Merchants baulked at this list, and refused to introduce any other supercargoes than those of the *Prince Edward*, and to introduce them only on condition that they promised to speak on no other subject than the Hand *Escrutoire*. To this the supercargoes agreed after 'the whole Affair had continued in suspense for some Days', and they were accompanied to the Hoppo House, where they waited for two hours while the Merchants went to the Viceroy's yamen close by. The Merchants returned with the message that

the Tsontoc was extremely well satisfied, that everything should be made easy, and that he did not desire the Gentlemen should have the trouble of coming to him.

The Merchants were very insistent that the supercargoes should interview the Hoppo's officer at whose house their boat had stayed, but they 'absolutely refused and returned to their Factory much dissatisfied with the Merchants' behaviour towards them'.

In the list of grievances which the supercargoes desired to present to the Viceroy, acting as Hoppo, the most important

was the last; and on this Messrs. Palmer, Haldane and Mackett, the supercargoes directing the affairs of the *Dragon*, *Prince Edward*, *Onslow*, and *Norfolk*, commented as follows:

Having been for several years contrary to Custom, refused access to the Hoppo, which puts it into the power of the Merchants to use them [the supercargoes] as they think proper, and afterwards to lay the fault on the Mandarines, who we were certain must have the honor as well as Interest of their Master too much at heart to countenance such abuses as are daily committed could they be properly apprized of them,

they seized the occasion of the measuring of the *Norfolk* to represent the matter to the officer who came for that purpose, Mr. Flint, 'our Linguist', interpreting for them. The officer was most plausible, and undertook to represent their request to the Viceroy 'immediately upon his return to Town',¹ and in the meantime was himself at their disposal whenever they had occasion to call upon his services. This was the limit of the satisfaction they obtained, and they did not succeed in seeing the Viceroy: and they recorded their opinion as follows:

This Affair has put a stop to all business for these three Days, and we have put down the Circumstance of it more particularly perhaps than is necessary, that it may be seen how far the Merchants are to be depended upon in such Cases, knowing that it has been too much the Custom of Gentlemen from Europe to give Credit to their Assertions; and that ever since they have carried their point of preventing all intercourse betwixt the Europeans and the Mandarines, they have imposed upon both in their turns, and put the trade of this place upon such a footing as without redress will render it impracticable to Europeans.

In this season of 1747 there was some complaint about the measurement of the ships. At the measurement of the *Lynn* it was found that her length (foremast to mizzenmast) was 75·74 covids, and her breadth (midships) was 22·62 covids; on this, apparently, no complaint was based, although the opportunity was taken to demand an interview with the Hoppo. On measuring the *Portfield*, of another commission, her length was 72·1 covids and breadth 22·2 covids.

By these Dimensions they bring her in a first rate,² which I think ought not to be submitted to. In order to prevent it I sent for the Linguist and told him my Sentiments very freely, & these went to Ton Honqua the Merchant, and our Security, to whom I said much more, particularly the unreasonableness of a ship of 2000 Peculs and upwards,

¹ His return to Canton from Shiu hing, his viceregal seat.

² Cf. vol. i, p. 267.

paying the same as a ship above four times the burthen, and concluded all (*sic*) that we were resolved not to bear the imposition, at the same time shewed the measurement of the *Compton* and *Wyndham* some years ago [1732], which Mr. Lull favored me with, as he was here, or had the Diaries of the time, and both those Ships were bigger than us; this created some disturbance for a time, but in the end, they carried their point, which we hope we shall do [:] the Merchant, saying little more than that we ought not to suspect him, as this was an Affair relative to none but the Emperor himself, and that we might have Copies how all Ships were rated in his Books, the Linguist Gowqua confirmed the same, and Honqua added that if we did not pay the Sum demanded justly, he must, which I consented to, with a remark that his gains on the *Portfield's* Tea would well afford it, but I hope we shall be able to render your Honors a better state of the Case than submission, as they have promised to set this in a true light to the John Tuck¹ and Hoppo.

The comparative figures for the three ships, *Compton* (1732), *Wyndham* (1732), and *Portfield* (1747) were as follows :

	<i>Compton.</i>	<i>Wyndham.</i>	<i>Portfield.</i>
Length	71.75	73.1	72.1
Breadth	22.25	22.7	22.2
Chinese Units	159.65	165.95	160.05
Chartered tonnage	440	470	400
Measure't fees	Tls. 1089.59	Tls. 1135.08	

There is no record of the result, but it may be assumed that the supercargoes did not carry their point.

In 1750 there was again a discussion on the measurement of a ship. On October 19th the *True Briton* was measured, and her dimensions were declared to be:

Length, 69.65 covids ; breadth 21.65 covids ;

and by these measurements she was charged as a second rate. With this classification the supercargoes were quite satisfied, and were ready to pay the regular measurage dues ; but

we now took the opportunity of representing to the Hoppo the hardship that fell on this small Ship in the payment of the 1950 Tales called Presents, which we could but think a very unequal charge, since there

¹ The volume returned from Peking, which contains the extant Canton records from 1742 to August 8, 1755, seems to have been copied by one hand to p. 212 and by one other hand from p. 213 to the end at p. 372. This name John Tuck (for Tsongtuk, Viceroy) is found only on p. 158; previously it is always clearly Ison Toc or IsonToc (?JsonToc) up to p. 211, one page only before the change. On that page we have clearly both ISONTOUCK and TONGTOUCK, on p. 212 ISONTOUCK, and on p. 213 in the changed handwriting TSONGTOUK and TSONGTROCK; thereafter uniformly TSONGTROUK. This explains the hitherto inexplicable practice of Peter Auber in applying to the Viceroy the title ISONTROCK.

were several Foreign Ships then in the Port that carried three times the quantity of Goods, and yet paid no more. He told us that what Monies were levied for Measurage, were by Express Order of the Emperor, but if an instance could be produced of an abatement heretofore to any other Ship, he would certainly pay the same regard to us, and for this purpose he would order the Hoppo Books to be examined, and if any Precedent was found we might depend on his favor. This we look upon as a Genteel denial: yet we do not despair that from this Conversation something may be produced the next year to our advantage.

Following the conversation the Hoppo gave permission for the Kintlege to be landed, and assured the supercargoes that it could be reshipped when required; but when they inquired why the issue of the Chop was delayed, they were informed by Suqua Texia and Beau Coiqua that the Viceroy had especially forbidden the re-export on the ground that it was composed of iron.¹ On appealing to the Hoppo they were first assured that the permit would be issued; but ultimately the Hoppo withdrew from his promise and sent a message that the Kintlege was found to be iron, and could not therefore be re-exported.

The question of the remission of the Present of 1,950 taels hung fire, but it had reached the stage of having been referred to the Viceroy and being in his hands for decision, when he died. This brought the question back to the Hoppo for decision:

Upon application for the Grand Chop [clearance], our Security Ton Teinquia took the opportunity to remind the Hoppo of the favorable hopes he had formerly given with respect to an abatement of the 1950 Tales called Present, and having prepared his principal Scrivan some time before by a Promise on our part of Two hundred Tales in Money, with some other things to the amount of One hundred forty Tales more, in case we should succeed; he found much less difficulty in carrying his point, than otherwise could have been expected in a Country where generally all is bought and sold.

This abatement was an unprecedented act of grace, and the Hoppo insisted on the necessity for secrecy in order that the other Europeans might not be encouraged to solicit the same favour; but when the supercargoes sought an audience in order to convey their thanks, the Hoppo pleaded excessive business and evaded the proffered civility.

¹ Cf. vol. i, p. 278.

XCIV

DEMAND FOR EXTRATERRITORIALITY, 1753-1754

DURING the season 1753 the ships *Edgebarton*, *Griffin*, *Royal Duke*, and *Harcourt* are mentioned by name. On the occasion of measuring two of them, on August 4th, the supercargoes took the opportunity to present a petition to the Hoppo, which Mr. Flint, having had it translated into Chinese, used as his notes at the measuring. The petition was as follows :

We desire we may not be troubled with Securities for our Ships, and that whoever we purchase Goods of, or sell Goods to, they be answerable to the Government for the Duties to be paid on them. Those Merchants who are Securities for our Ships, are so distressed on account of Duties, which they are made answerable for, altho' they are neither the Purchasers or Sellers of the Goods, on which the Duties are due, that our Trade greatly suffers thereby.

We desire a better attendance may be given on board our Ships at unloading them, that more Boats may be loaded in a Day, especially of Cotton, and such like Goods, and that all Boats may be sent up full, otherwise the charge of unloading is too great.

We desire that all our Linguists & Compradores may be excused making any Presents or Acknowledgments to the Officers of the Customs.

We desire that effectual Orders may be given to prevent our Goods being plundered on the River: for this last Year we presented a Petition to you, which hitherto you have not been pleased to answer.

We complain of very unhandsome Chops, which have lately been affixed in public parts of the City and Suburbs, accusing us of Crimes, the mention even of which, is horrible to us: to them we attribute the frequent Insults we meet in the Streets, and therefore desire they may be removed, and that the Government would not only protect us, but likewise our Merchants, Linguists, Compradores and Servants.

We complain of the Person's rudeness who is stationed at the Custom House above our Factory, who about two Months ago prevented us from taking the Air in our Boat, on pretence that we did not bow to him: we desire he may be made to ask our pardon at our House or be dismissed.

We complain of the Officers at the three Custom Houses between the Factories and the Ships, that they exact Money from us at the Dispatch of our Ships and particularly of the Officer who was last Year at the lower House, who detained the Pilot's Chop for the Ship *Houghton*.

We find it so difficult to get access to the Mandarines, that we take this opportunity of addressing you whose Protection we particularly desire.

A week later the Hoppo sent an answer to 'those Merchants who secure the English ships', at the same time giving orders for the

arrest of the man who had written the supercargoes' petition. In his answer the Hoppo upheld all those of whom complaint had been made, and said 'we don't know what we would have, and that he knows best what is fit for us'. In despair of obtaining redress for their grievances at Canton, the supercargoes welcomed the advances made in October by Father Hallerstien, who was returning from Macao to Peking, where he was 'President of the Mathematical Academy'. He offered to act as their Agent in approaching the high officials at Peking, but warned them that much money must be paid to secure a reversal of the decisions at Canton, and to influence the Court and Government in their favour. No definite action was taken, but the supercargoes brought Mr. Flint and Father Hallerstien together for a private conference.

For the season 1754 there were at Canton twenty-five ships of all nations, of which eight were English for the Company. Three of the English ships, *Lord Anson*, *Triton*, and *Princess Augusta*, were kept by their supercargoes outside the river, in order that the grievance of Security Merchants might first be discussed.

We sent Mr. Flint to the Hoppo House with a Paper drawn up in Chinese desiring leave to pay our respects to the Hoppo: our intention (in case we can get admission) being to endeavour the removing a very great inconvenience which we are continually exposed to, by being obliged to solicit the Merchants to stand Fiadores or Security for our Shipping.

This practice of naming Securities is not of a much longer Date than 20 Years, & was at that time called by the Chinese, a mere matter of form: but we have almost every Year since experienced the ill effects of it in transacting our business here. The nature of this Engagement is, that the Merchant who takes upon him to be a Security for any Ship, is answerable for the Customs upon all Goods Imported on that Ship, whether bought by himself or any other Person, in like manner he is accountable on the Export; so that unless he transacts every Article of our business, he advances considerable Sums of Money for all those who have any dealing with us, and 'tis often with great difficulty that he is reimbursed. A still further disadvantage is that the Security is looked upon by the Hoppo and other Mandarines, as the only Person to procure for them any Curiosities or Merchandize brought on that Ship, and this at the moderate Rule perhaps of One fourth of what the Security pays for them.

Under such Circumstances it is no wonder that the Merchants are unwilling to engage themselves for our Ship, and we on our part are equally desirous they should be excused from it, for the consequences

most certainly are, that either the Merchant must be impoverished, or the Company must make good this Expence in the Quality or Prices of the Goods bought for them.

The Hoppo, on receipt of the request for an audience, sent to know its purpose, and was informed that the request was made in conformity with the instructions of the Court of Directors. The Hoppo put off the supercargoes, who thereupon suspected the Merchants of intriguing against them; and upon this, on July 4th, they applied for a Chop to land the factory stores, not with any expectation of getting it, but as we know it must bring on the point in question touching the Securities, for it is not usual to grant any Chop at all, till that is first settled.

The Chop was refused; and on the 6th Mr. Flint was sent to inform the Linguist that the stores would be brought up in the long boat without a Chop, since its issue was refused. On the 8th

Contrary to our Expectation, we have this Morning received a Chop for bringing up our Factory Stores, the point of the Securities remaining still undetermined, & likely to continue so: for we find we cannot get admission to the Hoppo to set this matter before him in its true light.

Matters drifted until July 16th. On that day all the Merchants begged to be excused from the troublesome burden, except Tsoi Suequa, who proposed to stand temporarily as Security for the English ships, provided that his obligation should be transferred to any other Merchant with whom the principal part of the ships' business should be transacted. In this compromise all the advantage was on the side of the Hoppo, but the supercargoes felt obliged to accept it provisionally. But they did not enter into business at once; and on the 29th, having prepared a petition protesting against the system of Securities and praying for its abrogation, the supercargoes of the three ships

went in Chairs to the Gate of the City,¹ nearest the Tsontouck's House, accompanied by Mr. Flint. We did not acquaint our Chinese Linguist nor any of the Merchants with our Intention not doubting but through fear, they would have endeavoured to traverse our design. The Linguist however and Tsoi Suequa (who is the temporary Security for our Ships) had got intelligence of our Motions, and were at the City Gate some time before us, Suequa made great entreaty that we would return to our Factory, pretending that our taking this step without giving any previous notice of it, would bring him into a great deal of trouble: we assured him our intention was to assist, and not prejudice the Merchants, & that we were determined to see the Tsontouck. Besides the Petition above recited, we had got prepared in Chinese, another Paper necessary on this

¹ Cf. map in vol. ii, p. 320.

occasion, signifying that the English presented their respects to the Tsontouck, and begged the favor of being admitted to his Presence. We enquired for the Officer that Commanded at the Gate, in order to deliver him this Paper, and were told that a Message should be sent for him immediately. After waiting a full Hour, and no person coming near us, we quitted our Chairs, and got under the Arch of the Gate, hoping by this means to make it known to the Mandarines, that some of the Europeans wanted admittance into the City. The Soldiers upon Duty were very solicitous that we should quit this stand and retire to a small distance, which however we did not do: after some time, an Officer of an inferior Rank came to us from the Tsontouck and received our Paper of Compliment, upon which we retired to a shop without the Gate. The Officer was very inquisitive to know our business, but we desired to be excused from telling it, alledging that our application was intended to the Tsontouck, and we could not so far offend him, as to address ourselves to any other Person. Upon this answer, he returned into the City, and in about an hour more, we were carried to the Tsontouck's House, where we waited another Hour, and were at last admitted to his presence.

The Viceroy was very courteous, but even when the petition had been handed to him and he had read it, he did not seem to have grasped the purport of the supercargoes' complaint. Whether this was intentional density, does not appear; but it is more likely that the translation into Chinese was faulty, the more so that Mr. Flint had probably not been allowed to have the aid of Chinese in translating it. Finally the Viceroy asked plainly what they had to complain of,

upon which we resolved to explain ourselves without reserve, and accordingly acquainted him that our ships usually brought to this Port a great many Curiosities and other valuable Goods, which the Mandarines were desirous of purchasing, that the Security was the Person employed on this occasion, and often was so great a sufferer by it, that no Merchant would now enter into this Engagement. He said that as to himself, he should never desire Anything, for which he would not pay the full price: and if any Man whatever should do otherwise, he desired to be informed of it, and he would give us full satisfaction.

The supercargoes thanked the Viceroy, and said that they desired only to be on the same footing as other nations, whose ships did not bring these curiosities; or if the Viceroy should see fit to 'suppress the custom of giving Securities which brought on us so many inconveniencies', the supercargoes would agree to pay their own duties. The Viceroy then held a long conversation with Tsoi Suequa, who, Mr. Flint informed them, explained fully and without fear what had been told him on behalf of the supercargoes; and he declared, at the end of the audience, that

'our business should be effectually regulated'. The supercargoes were now full of hope, though they recognized that they had left all their other grievances unmentioned, 'such as the plundering our Tea in the Chinese Boats, and the Extortions of the Hoppo's Officers from our Compradores'; but they feared to distract the Viceroy's attention and preferred to concentrate it on their most important grievance. On August 3rd the two chiefs, Messrs. Misenor and Harrison, were summoned to Tsoi Suequa's hong, where an officer from the Viceroy returned their petition and delivered a verbal reply to the effect that

Orders had been issued to the Hoppo for his summoning the Merchants and obliging them to enter immediately into Business with the English upon reasonable terms, and if we should hereafter have any occasion of Complaint we might have free Access to him. We returned our thanks to the Tsongtoug for this Answer, with which however we had little reason to be satisfied.

The Viceroy, new to his post and apparently of a kindly disposition, had misjudged the extent of his powers, and he was now compelled to withdraw from the position he had taken; for the Hoppo was the agent in sending to the Court these curiosities (in addition to the cash), and the Hong Merchants were his machinery for obtaining them.¹

It is a Custom here it seems to send Curiosities to the Emperor three times in the Year, for the Expences of which an Allowance has been formerly made from Court of Tales 50,000 ʔ Annum. In course of time, this Sum has been reduced to Tales 30,000 One half of which is absorbed in the Charges attending the long Journeys to Peking, the other half is insufficient for purchasing the many valuable things that are sent thither. This Grievance the Tsongtoug is fearful of representing to the Court, nor will the Hoppo (whose province it is to provide these Curiosities) make good the deficiency at his own cost; it therefore falls upon the Securities for the Shipping.

On August 7th the Hoppo designated four Merchants (Ton Chetqua, Puan Khiqua, Suesia, and Teunqua²) to serve as Securities for the English ships. The next day

the four Merchants waited on the Hoppo, who being informed that their design was to excuse themselves from acting as Securities, he would not see them, but insisted they should come to him tomorrow Morning perfectly Resigned to his Orders.

The next day they again tried to evade the appointment, but without success; the Hoppo, however, ordered that all charges

¹ Cf. vol. ii, p. 263; vol. iii, p. 194.

² Possibly a wrong transcription for Seunqua.

which they incurred from acting as Security should be levied on the whole body of Merchants, and not on them individually. This ended, for the season 1754, the struggle of the supercargoes against the system of Securities; and in announcing the names of the Merchants designated to act in that capacity, the Hoppo at the same time asked as a favour that he might have a first view of the curiosities brought in the ships, and that the prices might be reasonable. He was informed in reply that the supercargoes would use their influence in the matter, but that they had no control over these curiosities, which were the private property of the officers of the ships.

On August 15th an officer from the Viceroy informed the supercargoes that 'on Monday afternoon last' an English boat with seven men on board had discharged a musket loaded with ball and pointed towards 'a Chinese Guard house near Banksoll Island at Wampoa, which Ball the Officer produced, as it had fallen very near the house'; and the Viceroy asked that the perpetrator of this 'extravagant Folly' should be found in order that he might be properly punished, and that precautions should be taken to prevent a repetition of the offence. The officer was informed that the Company had given strict orders forbidding the use of fire-arms in port, and that these orders had been communicated to the commander of their ship, the *Lord Anson*. The commander then investigated the matter, and reported that, when the sailors were stowing in a locker the muskets made ready for their protection on the trip down from Canton, one had gone off by accident. On the 26th the Securities stated that the Viceroy expected to have some one sent to the Hoppo house to corroborate the account given of the occurrence, but the supercargoes declined,

the thing being merely accidental, and not done with any Malicious Intent. [On the 28th] the Securities continually importune us to send some Person to the Hoppo house to accommodate our Difference they being greatly in Fear of being brought into farther Trouble. But as we are more and more inclined to believe that the Hoppo would use no (*sic*) Violence to any one we should send thither, we assured them of our Steady Resolution not to expose an Innocent Man to such an Injury by so unjust a Composition.

There is no record of any further consequences, and the Viceroy probably decided that no further steps were called for.

A little later the supercargoes were informed that on the afternoon of September 29th, being Sunday, a sailor of the *Lord*

Anson, Charles Brown, had been killed 'by the French who have their Bankshall on the Island where our people usually walk for their amusement'. The French supercargoes acted promptly in charging the English sailors with the custom of landing, Sundays and holidays, on Whampoa Island ('nos Bancassaux comme vous sçavez sont situés sur cette Isle'), on which the French had hoped for peace and tranquillity, by reason of being removed from the other nations; but now, though the English commanders had promised to restrain their men, these last had rushed on shore, and, so far from calm succeeding storm, the French found that it was a tempest which confronted them. On the 29th the English sailors had gone so far as to attack the French Officers, who had tried to restrain their violence; and in the affray which ensued one of the English sailors was killed and another detained. The release of the latter was offered on condition that the English supercargoes gave satisfaction for the continued succession of such outrages. The matter had been at once reported to the Viceroy, who ordered the Namhoi Hien to proceed to Whampoa and hold an inquest. The two bodies of supercargoes appeared at this inquiry, when the French testified in accordance with their accusation as given above. The English, in conformity with the report of the commander of the *Lord Anson*, countercharged that

Charles Brown the deceased being engaged in a quarrel with a French sailor, an Officer of that Nation had taken upon him to give the Englishman several blows with a Stick, which he immediately returned, and the Officer being thereby greatly enraged, retired to his Banksoil from whence he presently came out again with a Musket in his hand, and advancing within a few Yards of the aforesaid Charles Brown shot him dead on the Spot. We likewise acquainted the Namhoyen that the French had thought proper to seize one of our Men whom they still detained a Prisoner.

Two days later the English supercargoes held an investigation on board the *Lord Anson*, at which the depositions of twenty-four witnesses were taken, officers and sailors of the *Lord Anson*, *Ilchester*, *True Briton*, *Princess Augusta*, *Triton*, and *Essex*.

From all these we think it evidently appears that the French Officer who killed our Seaman was no less than a Murderer, and seeing the French have neither Inclination nor Ability to make us a proper satisfaction they having no power, as we are Informed, to execute a Criminal, we must rely on the Government of this Country for the Justice which is due to us without which it will be impossible to pacify the common

Seamen of our Ships. During our stay at Whampo the French delivered up to Captain Jackson the Seaman belonging to his Ship whom they had detained ever since our late Dispute with them. This however ought not to be considered as a voluntary act on their parts they having been constrained to it by the stop which the Chinese have put to all the French Business.

In reply to a letter of the French, asserting that they had surrendered their prisoner from a desire to promote international amity, and that the English sailors had landed in unusual number on the island on which the French bankshalls were situated; the English retorted that the island had not been reserved for the exclusive use of the French, and countercharged that the French attracted men to their bankshalls by selling liquor therein. The essential sentence in the reply was:

We can only say that as the Chinese Government hath thought proper to take cognizance of this Affair we must of Necessity abide by their determination.

This letter was signed by all the members, thirteen in number, of four Councils, of which the Chiefs were John Misenor, Thomas Liell, Samuel Harrison, and Thomas Thompson. One point taken by the English was countered by the action of the Viceroy

The Tsongtoug to prevent farther Mischief has directed that the English shall not land for the future on the Island where the French Banksoils are situated, but that he will appoint a place on Danes Island for the recreation of our Seamen.

The French supercargoes addressed a long letter of friendly expostulation to the English body, in which they represented the danger to all the European interests if the Chinese courts were called upon to adjudicate on a dispute which concerned Europeans alone, and in an amicable spirit they proposed to carry the offender to France and have him tried there. This letter was subscribed in the following manner: ¹

Nous sommes très parfaitement,

Messieurs,

Vos très humbles et très obéissants Serviteurs

Dumont

Boisneuf

Jazu

Luker d'Orbeck

Vauquelin de Fosse

Thimotée Cadet

Pechevin

The English supercargoes were in a dilemma. They were pushed in one direction by the riotous spirit in their sailors, who

¹ As far as can be made out from the English transcription of French signatures.

furiously demanded retribution for the murder of their mate; and in the other they were inclined to agree with the feeling that there was danger in submitting the affair to the Chinese courts.

As to their Objection that the reputation & Commerce of the Europeans will be greatly exposed by submitting this Affair to a Chinese Tribunal, we are of Opinion that such an Appeal (all Circumstances considered) is the only way of preserving both the one, and the other, for if we are to have no Redress but by carrying on a Prosecution in France, it is [not] easy to see what that Redress will amount to, nor indeed do we think that such a Prosecution can be carried on in any Country in Europe for a Murder committed here.

They accordingly prepared a petition to be presented to the Viceroy, of which the exordium was as follows:

Upon a Life for which Satisfaction is not made & for which our People are all in Rage, we are obliged to demand Justice to put a stop to greater Mischief.

The body of the petition was in phraseology what a Chinese official might have written in demanding the surrender of a foreigner charged with the homicide of a Chinese subject. Meantime the Viceroy, of his own volition, had demanded the surrender of the accused Frenchman; and the French supercargoes had returned answer to the effect that

if a subject of China had been killed by any of their People they would immediately have delivered up the offender to the Justice of this Country, but as the late affair at Wampo had happened between European & European it could only be tried by their own Laws.

The English supercargoes then resolved to delay no longer, but to present their petition at once and in person. On October 11th they all 'went out early this Morning and after some difficulty got to the Tsongtouks Palace': but it was 2 o'clock before they were admitted, and then they were received by 'a Mandareen of the Second Order who, we were informed, was the Tsongtouks Deputy'. He perused the petition with close attention, and inquired on behalf of the Viceroy if the foreign factories could not act jointly in the matter, and adjudicate on the dispute. The next day this inquiry was put to the test at a meeting which was called of the supercargoes of all the nations except the English and the French.

They [the supercargoes] seemed in General to be apprehensive that the submitting this affair to a Chinese Tribunal might expose the Europeans to more Trouble from the Chinese in smaller Matters yet at the same time were not inclined to give their opinion to the Mandareen

either one way or the other, the Prussians only excepted, who were extremely strenuous in the French Interest. The Dutch, Dane, Swede, Portuguese & Prussian Supra Cargoes, having attended the Mandareen, it was demanded of them, in what manner such a Case as the present would be decided in their respective Countries, to which they agreed to return for Answer that each Country had its own Laws, and they coming here as Merchants to Trade were not qualified to give their Opinions in such Matters. Upon this Answer the Mandareen immediately sent for the Merchants who were Securities for the French Ships & acquainted them that the Offender must be delivered up or they should proceed to Extremities.

The next step taken by the Viceroy was to send the Merchants to persuade the English to settle their dispute with the French by a friendly arbitration; but the English supercargoes pleaded their inability to withdraw their charge, and further declared that the passions of their sailors were roused to such a degree that an amicable settlement was out of the question. Three days later, on October 17th, the record states:

Late last Night a Frenchman pretending to enquire for the Passage Boat which goes constantly between this Place and Macco, was arrested and carried into the City, where he confessed himself to be the Person who had Shot our Seaman at Wampao, upon further Examination however we are almost assured that this Man is a Renegado who came privately from Batavia on Board the *Princess Augusta* and we have reason to think that the French Supra Cargoes have found means to prevail on him to personate their Officer who is the real Offender that they may extricate themselves from the present Difficulty with some Credit, and at the same time remove the total Stop which has been put to their Business ever since the commencement of this unhappy Affair. It will no doubt, appear very extraordinary that any Man should venture to personate another who is charged with Murder, but in this Country there have been several Instances where an European hath killed a Chinese, and the Punishment has only been an Imprisonment for one or two Years. This Renegado therefore hath certainly been cajoled with assurances of the safety of his Person, as well as a considerable Reward, yet such is the vanity of the French that they are unwilling to have it believed amongst the Europeans, that they have given up their point to the Chinese and with this view they industriously give it out amongst the Factories that they have not any knowledge of the Man who is in Custody. As to ourselves we must have a certainty of the Person, before we can take any farther steps in the matter.

On November 11th the English supercargoes record that they have been 'endeavouring to ascertain whether the man arrested was the real Person [the officer who committed the homicide], or only the hired Renegoda (*sic*) we suspected'; but with no result. The supercargoes of the English Company, except Mr. Misenor and Mr. Hume, were compelled to leave in the ships

under their charge, with the affair still unsettled; and the man remained in custody until the following year, 1755, when (the *Lord Anson* having returned from India) the following entry appears in the records under date September 6th:

The Tsongtoug, we are informed, has this day declared that he has received orders from the Emperor to discharge all Prisoners on account of some considerable advantages gained over a Nation of Western Tartars who have been long in Enmity with the Chinese. In Consequence of this Order the French Man who was last year imprisoned for the Shooting one of our Sailors will obtain his Enlargement.

The net result of the affair was that the other nations (Dutch, Danes, Swedes, Prussians, Portuguese) continued to have liberty to land on both islands; the French were restricted to French Island; and the English were restricted to Danes Island. The last named paid Tls. 100 a year for the privilege of landing; and their sailors were strictly enjoined to conduct themselves quietly and to respect Chinese Tombs and Burying Places.

The Chinese officials attempted in vain to persuade the European supercargoes to assume the charge of extraterritoriality in a case which concerned no Chinese person or interest; but in 1780 they claimed Chinese jurisdiction in the similar case of the *Success* and the *Stormont*.

CARGOES OF THE ENGLISH SHIPS DISPATCHED FROM CANTON IN THE YEAR 1754

		<i>Essex</i> & <i>Ilchester.</i>	<i>Onslow</i> & <i>Stafford.</i>	<i>True</i> & <i>Briton.</i>	<i>Princess</i> & <i>Augusta.</i>	<i>Triton</i> & <i>Lord Anson.</i>
Black Tea	Pls.	5688	4737	1951	2434	6414
Green "	"	2249	2460	871	1356	1750
Raw Silk	"	686	214	162	127	273
Woven Silk,	Pces.	..	2480	706	1339	2534
Nankeen Cloth	"	..	2400	1200	1200	2400
Chinaware, Chests		242	200	102	100	222

PRICES

Black Tea, Bohea,	per picul, Tls.	12 to 15 to 19.50
Finer	" "	24 to 35
Green Tea, Singlo	" "	12 to 23 to 27.80
Hyson	" "	48 to 50
Raw Silk	" "	155 to 220
Woven Silks	per piece	4.4 to 10.6
Nankeens	" "	0.34

N.B. Singlo Tea includes in the records varieties known as Twankay and Hyson Skin.

Where three prices are given the highest is an exceptional price applying to small quantities only.

WROUGHT SILK SHIPPED IN 1754 BY THE PRINCESS AUGUSTA,
TRITON, AND LORD ANSON

	Length. covid.	Width. covid.	Weight. Tale.	Pieces.	Price. Tls.
Taffaties, plain	38	2·2	28	1945	5·
„ changeable & striped	38	2·2	28	195	5·
„ striped & brocaded .	45	2·0	33	90	9·
Paduasoy	62	1·6	60	160	7·5
„	38	2·0	45	164	7·8
„	45	2·0	52	150	9·
Gorgoroon	38	2·0	36	164	6·
„	45	2·0	42	150	7·2
Poisees	38	2·0	36	150	7·
„	45	2·0	42	150	8·2
Sattins	45	2·0	42	60	8·2
Bed Damasks	45	2·0	52	60	10·4
Goshees	38	2·0	31	120	6·
„	45	2·0	36	120	7·2
Handkerchiefs	44	2·2	27	90	5·
„	40	2·0	22	105	4·4
				3873	

NOTE

Taffaty, Taffety, or Taffeta : weight 0·335 tael per sq. covid. The simplest weave of all silks, both sides alike. In the sixteenth century it is described as thick and costly, but in 1610 it is mentioned as being very soft and thin; and in 1741 as 'very lustrous, sometimes checkered or flowered, and sometimes striped with gold and silver'. Modern taffeta is a thin glossy silk of a fine plain texture.

Paduasoy : mean weight 0·605 tael per sq. covid. Declared by a French manufacturer to be derived from 'poudesoy' < *peau de soie*, but the more commonly accepted derivation is from Padua + *soie*—silk of Padua. A smooth, strong, rich silk, commonly black, originally made at Padua. Supposed to have been introduced into England by refugees at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Gorgoroon (grogram) : mean weight 0·470 tael per sq. covid. (Ger. Grobgran; Du. Grofgrein, Grein; Da. and Sw. Grofgran; Fr. Grosgrain; It. Grossograno, Grograno; Sp. Gorgoran; Port. Grossagrana, Gorgoran.) A stout corded silk stuff, not very lustrous, and one of the most durable of silk fabrics.

Bed Damask : weight 0·578 tael per sq. covid. From Damascus, where the fabric was first made. Large Jacquard designs woven in heavy material for bed-covers.

Poisees : mean weight 0·470 tael per sq. covid.

Goshees : mean weight 0·404 tael per sq. covid.

The most careful search through many dictionaries and encyclopaedias, general, philological, and technical, has failed to elicit any information on these two fabrics.

W. H. Manchée states in *Notes and Queries* of November 24, 1928 : 'Poisee is probably *peau de soie*, a plain black silk. [But see *Paduasoy* above.] *Gouache* = waterbody colour; Goshee, therefore, probably is a watered silk.'

XCV

MONOPOLY OF THE HONG MERCHANTS, 1755

For the season 1755 there were four Councils in China:

- (1) Mr. Samuel Harrison and Mr. Thomas Fitzhugh (with whom was Mr. James Flint) at Ningpo in the *Earl of Holderness*;
- (2) Mr. John Misenor at Canton (with whom was Mr. Alex. Hume) who had stopped over from 1754, in order to prepare the lading in 1755 for his ships, the *Triton* and *Lord Anson*;
- (3) Mr. Henry Palmer at Canton (with whom were Messrs. George Mandeville, Francis Kinnersley,¹ John Goodere, and Robert John Harrison) charged with the affairs of the ships *Prince George* and *Rhoda*;
- (4) Mr. Frederick Pigou at Canton (with whom were Messrs. Thomas Lockwood, Richard Peisley, and Francis Kinnersley¹) charged with the affairs of the ships *Drake*, *Kent*, *Britannia*, and *Warren* in 1755, and holding over until 1756.

We thus see the Directors taking tentative steps in the direction of the permanent resident Council, but still we have four Councils each going out and returning in its own ships, and keeping the accounts of each ship quite separate. When Mr. Palmer came to dispatch his ships, he found that he had miscalculated his resources by Tls. 990; and later he found that he had underestimated the sums required for 'the usual Presents usually given at leaving this place' by a further amount of Tls. 80; these sums, Tls. 1,072 in all, he asked Mr. Pigou to advance to him. On Mr. Palmer's arrival, on August 7th, his first business was to find a Security Merchant, for the resolute effort of the supercargoes in 1754 had failed, and the system remained in force; but the Merchants were still reluctant to assume the burden.

On our application to Suqua, Tinqu and Coqua to be Security for the Ship *Prince George*, Suqua before he would hear anything with regard to his being Security for the Ship, insisted upon his fixing the price of Bohea Tea at 18 Tales ¾ Pecul, on which terms we told him we should not give him any further trouble on that subject.

[Aug. 9th] We applied to Teunqua to be Security for the Ship *Prince George* which he readily accepted of.

¹ Mr. Kinnersley's name appears in both Councils, but he seems to have acted only with Mr. Pigou.

On the same day Mr. Palmer appointed Tsonqua (or Tsouqua) as Linguist, and

Agreed with Ton Suqua for Long-hing Hong for our Factory at 800 Tales.

On August 13th the *Prince George* was measured and found to be 79·95 covids long and 22·25 covids broad, making 182·685 Chinese units. This making her a first class, measurage dues were charged at Tls. 7·7777 per unit, as follows:

182·685 units at Tls. 7·7777	.	.	.	.	Tls. 1360·643 (<i>sic</i>)
Present	.	.	.	.	„ 1950·

Tls. 3310·643

This is noted as having been 'settled with Tsonqua the Linguist'; but on October 22nd is recorded:

Paid Teunqua in full for the Measurage and Present of the ship *Prince George*, he being the Security Tls. 423·225

The actual amount as recalculated is Tls. 1,420·869 (making with the Present Tls. 3,370·869), which can be reconciled with neither of the recorded figures. The measurage of the *Rhoda* was settled as follows:

Length 76·70 covids	} = (178·864 units)	.	.	.	Tls. 1332·180
Breadth 23·32 „					
Present					
					Tls. 3282·180

The *Prince George* came by way of Benkulen, and the *Rhoda* by Madras, and the following subsistence allowances were issued:

	Tales
Messrs. Palmer, Kinnersley and Harrison (in the <i>Prince George</i> 16 days at Fort Marlbro for w ^{ch} the Company's Allowance is 10/- ½ Day, at 3 Tales to the £ Stg is	} 72
16 Days at Batavia at 10/- ½ Day	
Messrs. Mandeville & Goodere 14 Days at the Cape 40 Days at Madras and 8 Days at Mallacca, in all 62 Days, at 10/- ½ Day Each is	} 186
	Tales 330

For the outward voyage allowances were issued in London; but there were issued at Canton as allowances for fresh provisions on the homeward voyage,

to each supercargo, £40 = Tls. 120
for his Chinese servant, Tls. 20.

On all the Woollens Mr. Pigou's Council recorded that the Company lost, except on Long Ells alone, on which the profit

exceeded the loss on the other fabrics.¹ On the trade in Woollens generally they recorded the following particulars:

Cloth reckoned by the Chinese Thick & Good of 23 to 25 Yards long each, saleable 200 Pieces sorted as follows—

Black	110 Pieces
Blue	40 „
Scarlet	40 „
Cloth Color	6 „
Do. Dark	4 „
	200 „

Cloth reckoned by the Chinese Thin & Good of 17 to 18 Yards long each, saleable 800 Pieces sorted as follows—

Black	440 Pieces
Blue	120 „
Scarlet	160 „
Yellow	16 „
Purple	16 „
Cloth Color (3 degrees)	48 „
	800 „

It is to be observed that the Chinese call that one Piece of Cloth which comes here in a Distinct Canvas covering, and which in England is often called half a Cloth. Such a Piece they have observed in thick Cloth as they call it is about 23 @ 25 Yards long & in thin 17 to 18 Yards. Thick Cloth is very little used by the Chinese they usually prefer the Thin. . . . Long Ells 4000 Pieces sorted as follows—

Black	2,200 Pieces
Blue	800 „
Scarlet	600 „
Purple	160 „
Cloth Color	160 „
Do. like the darkest Pattern of the thick Cloth	80 „
	4,000 „

Account of Woollen Goods imported in China in 1755 by the French, Dutch, Dane & Sweed Companies—

		Pieces.	Yards or Ells.	Width.	
				Covid.	Inch.
Cloth:	French	346	5,190	3·2	about 47
	Dutch	50	2,500	1·8	„ 26½
	Dane	16	736	1·7	„ 25
	Sweed	39	1,738	1·7	„ 25
Long Ells:	French	207			
	Dutch	34			
Serge:	French	142	6,674	3·2	„ 47
	French	182	7,826	3·2	„ 47
Camblets:	French	214	21,300	1·8	„ 26½
	Dutch				

¹ Cf. Table at end of chapter, p. 32.

On the question of truck they recorded as follows:

When Messrs. Pigou and Peisley sold Beau Khiqua and Sweetia the Cloth & Long Ells they did not promise them a Share in the Investment they then thought of making, because that Method seems not to be approved, but it must be confessed both Parties, that is the Sellers and the Buyers, knew it must be so. The Trade of this Place must be consider'd as a Barter. The Merchants with whom we deal have very little ready Money, they can't purchase Goods and pay for them unless we allow them a very considerable time to make their payments in 15 Months or two Years that is to say until the Shop Keepers in the City (who are the Retailers) pay them. Metals only and Cotton are ready Money Articles thro' Custom, as is sometimes a Comodity that happens to be in great Demand. . . . Such Gentlemen is the Trade for Cloth and other Woollen Goods here, and if any Person pretended only to sell Woollen Goods here, and not to make purchases of Tea or Silk he would be abandon'd by all the Merchants or he must try to retail the Goods & wait Years for the Payment of them, and even that would be attended with almost insuperable Difficulty on account of the Security Merchant for the Ship that brings the Goods, who must whether he will or not, be answerable to the Emperor for the Duties on the Woollen Goods tho' he is not the Purchaser of them, he must also be liable to bad Debts.

Though the supercargoes were forbidden to deal in truck, Mr. Pigou's Council none the less made their contracts at an early date for the raw silk they required for shipment by the ships of 1756. They required, in conformity with their instructions, to provide a quantity of 800 piculs, and for this they contracted on November 15th with Beau Khiqua and Sweetia. The price they settled at Tls. 195 per picul for 400 piculs; but for the balance they preferred to leave it open, only settling it at Tls. 190 on December 19th.

They began to buy their tea soon after their arrival. Of Bohea 3,000 piculs were settled at Tls. 12 a picul on September 24th, to be packed after Chinese New Year (January 31st), and 10 chests of silver (Tls. 28,875) to be advanced. A contract was made on November 15th for Hyson, 500 piculs of first quality, price about Tls. 50 a picul according to quality, and 2,000 piculs of second quality at Tls. 24½ a picul, to be delivered on November 1, 1756, two-thirds of the cost to be advanced. In all 15,830 piculs of Bohea were bought at an average cost of Tls. 11.1. The Bohea chest contained 240 cattles (320 lb.) on an average.

The Directors had given strict orders that no camphor or musk was to be taken on ships carrying tea. In this season we have the first reference to 'rubbish teas', tea which was found,

on arrival in London, to have been falsely packed, or artificially coloured, or inferior to muster, and which the Directors required should be replaced; by 1782 no less than 1,402 chests (over 3,000 piculs) were so returned,¹ but the fraud was still in its infancy:

1756, March 22. Received at Different Times, since the begin^g of the Year, on the Company's Acco^t the follow^g Parcels of Tea to make good certain Packages sent to England in the Years 1752 & 1754 fill'd with Rubbish & Dirt instead of Tea.

Singlo	.	.	.	.	3	Tubs, No.	1	@	3	Teunqua	
Hyson	.	.	.	.	6	"	"	4	@	9	Kequa
Do.	.	.	.	.	3	"	"	10	@	12	Sweetia
Singlo	.	.	.	.	1	Chest	"	13	B	Khiqua	

It is to be observed the Merchants have made good all the Tea demanded of them, according to certain Lists sent here dated from the years 1747 to 1754 except those Parcels to be supply'd from Chimqua, Fat Hunqua & Ton Teinquā: The Former is Dead, & his Family is not able to pay the Deficiency: The other Two are so low at present, that little is to be expected from their Ability, though their Inclination to give a proper Satisfaction seems very Sincere.

In the season 1755 one ship, the *Earl of Holderness*, was sent to Ningpo, as it was by that time recognized that that outlet was nearer to the producing districts of all the best silk, and of the chops of tea in which the Company dealt. No diary has been preserved of the trading of this ship, but there are occasional passing references in the diaries of the three Councils at Canton. Mr. Misenor records, under date of July 19, 1755:

We are informed that the Tsongtoug has received a letter from the Foyan of Limpo [the Fuyuen of Chekiang at Hangchow] advising of Mr. Harrison's arrival there, and desiring some Information concerning him, as he finds by the pass belonging to the vessel that she sailed from Maccao, and was entered out for Manilha, which, tho' a necessary deception at that time, seems now to create some difficulty.

And again on July 22nd:

Notwithstanding many reports that have been lately propagated with design to make it believed here that the attempt for the opening the Port of Limpo was likely to Fail, yet we have been this day satisfied of the falsity of them by the following letter from Mr. James Flint.

Gentlemen,

Having an opportunity by some Merchants that are going towards your way I thought it might be of some satisfaction to you to hear of our success at this place. We left Macao the 2^d and had a very tedious passage having but little Winds and at other times at North East, but

¹ Cf. vol. ii, p. 88.

the Current set strong for us and the 24th we arrived at the Island Quesan, the 28th a Man of War came to us and the 2^d of June we got into Chusan & as soon as we came to an Anchor both the Civil & Military Mandareens came on board to know what we came there for, which we soon gave them an Account of, to their great satisfaction finding we came there to trade, they behaved very civilly and as Complaisant as they could to us, but made a difficulty of our going any farther till they had heard from Limpo, and for three or four days the Ship was like a fair, so many people coming on board, we went into the City to visit the Mandareen, upon which they opened the middle doors to receive us, which is as great an honor as they could pay to any body. The 7th in the morning we set out in a Country boat for Limpo, and at night got there, the next day being rainy weather we could not go any where, but our house, such an one as it was (for they are in general very bad) was so thronged with people to see us Strangers, that the Landlord was obliged to apply to the Mandareen for Soldiers to keep them off. We went into the City to visit the Mandareens, and they behaved very civilly, but told us we could not do anything till the Hoppo, who had the Charge of the Customs, Came, he being at the Capital. In two days after we arrived, he came to Limpo. We went to see him and he received us very handsomely, not as the Hoppo at Canton does, tho' this man is as Considerable. He seemed very well pleased at our coming and said he would do everything to encourage our trade, Mr. Harrison delivered him a paper in the Country Language of the Priviledges that must be granted if we traded to this place, in all nineteen articles: as the Guns not be taken out of the Ship, that we should be upon the same footing as the Country people, and as their vessels that sail to foreign parts: to which he granted seventeen of the nineteen and the other two being of the least Consequence, Mr. Harrison thought it best not to stand out with him as he granted the rest. Upon our getting up to come home he desired as we came in the name of the Company to see their orders to Mr. Harrison, and I explained them to his great satisfaction, and then he told us we might be easy for we should be allowed much greater priviledges, and be treated with more complaisance than any of their own Merchants, and that we might see him or any of the Mandareens when we pleased. The Articles that were agreed upon have been confirmed by the Foyen, and an order is come for their being published at all the City Gates, and one at our Factory. Here are but two or three Merchants yet arrived from other places, and I cannot hitherto get any prices of Goods, but our prospect is very fair we shall do very well and especially if there should be a Ship from Bombay, for the Charges and Customs of the place will not be half of what it is at Canton the Hoppo having sent us a Book that we may not be imposed on. Mr. Harrison and we are all in high Spirits in expectation of the Ship's Arrival every day.

(Signed) James Flint.

In Mr. Pigou's Diary it is recorded, under the date of November 15, 1755, in connexion with the contract of his Council for raw silk at Canton:

The Gentlemen at Limpo have acted very prudently in not purchasing hastily Raw Silk. The [Earl of] Holderness going there was judged to be principally for that Comodity which has helped to keep up its Price. The Chinese next Year at Limpo expect Two Ships; That will probably two Years hence be the properest Place to purchase all the Company may want.

On February 11, 1756, Mr. Pigou, having heard of the arrival 'off Macao of the Ship Holderness in a Distressed Condition', sent to Messrs. Harrison, Fitzhugh, and Flint (the Council on board) a packet which Mr. Secretary James had given him for them in November, 1754. The following letter was received in reply:

As the Holderness will be obliged to put into Batavia to repair the Damage she received in striking on some sunken Rocks going out of the Quesan Islands, we go on her to that Place, there to waite the arrival of the Limpo Ship, and as we think it will be on many accounts necessary to have one of the Lads (now residing at Canton) with us, and believe you Gentlemen will be of the same Opinion, we desire you will take the Opportunity of send^g Mr. Tho^s Bevan on the Dutch Ship to meet us at Batavia.

(signed) Tho^s Fitzhugh
James Flint.

Ship Holderness in
Cabreta Bay Feb^y 14th 1756.

In reporting his action in the matter, Mr. Pigou wrote to the Directors as follows:

At the Desire of Messrs. Fitzhugh & Flint we have sent Mr. Tho^s Bevan in the Holderness to Batavia in order to proceed with them to Limpo in May or June next. We could not send him any other way, such is the Jealousy of the Chinese here. He has made great Progress in the Chinese Language, and is very well behaved, so that we make no doubt he will in a few years be of great Service to the Company where he is going.

Mr. Bevan¹ was one of two lads whom the Directors, estimating the services of Mr. Flint at their true value, had sent to Canton to study Chinese and become qualified to act as interpreters to the supercargoes. They pursued their studies under difficulties; six months before the above date, on August 22, 1755, Mr. Misenor has recorded in his Diary:

The Schoolmaster who has hitherto taught Messrs. Bevan and Barton the Chinese Language without any interruption whatever was yesterday

¹ Cf. vol. ii, pp. 51, 209.

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The Schoolmaster who has hitherto taught Messrs. Bevan and Barton the Chinese Language without any interruption whatever was yesterday

¹ Cf. vol. ii, pp. 51, 209.

and this day ordered to attend the Namhoyen. He accordingly waited on this Mandareen who enquired whether those young people could talk the language and whether it were not upon the recommendation of Mr Flint that he was engaged as their Master. In the first day's attendance the Master says he was courteously received and advised in a friendly manner to forbear going to our Factory for some time at least, as he was told the Tsongtouk did not approve of it but today (for what Reasons he knows not) his reception was extremely severe, and if we may credit his Account, the Namhoyen was weak enough to declare that by our people's learning the Chinese Language it would at last [least] enable us to trouble the Court with Complaints, the blame of which would certainly fall upon him, the Master, he added farther that the Mischief accruing from our knowledge was plain from our success at Limpo, which could never have been affected (*sic*) without the assistance of Mr. Flint. For these reasons it was intimated to him that he would do well to retire in time before any farther notice were taken of his attendance at our Factory. This Conversation the Master related to us upon promise of Secresy the Namhoyen having strictly charged him not to make the least mention of it to us, and we are well assured that two of the principal Merchants have been the private promoters of this enquiry and persecution (as we think it may well be called) notwithstanding they are at the same time favoured with by much the greatest share of the Honble Company's Business this Season. After what has been related it will be imagined that the Master dare not attend as usual he has promised however to come at Intervals unless any public Chop should be issued to forbid it.

Sept. 5. The Chinese Master to our two young people being fearful yet of appearing, we have agreed with an old man who formerly taught Mr. Flint to give them lessons privately in the absence of the other and he accordingly now attends.

This unwelcome attention was doubtless occasioned by the success of the supercargoes at Ningpo, with whom was Mr. Flint to act as interpreter. It was a settled policy at Canton to allow the Europeans to have no independent means of translating official documents or of interpreting; for both they were supposedly driven to rely on the pidgin jargon of the Chinese merchants and linguists; in the absence of Mr. Flint, the only other channel for obtaining reasonably correct translations was either in Portuguese through the venal Portuguese of Macao, or, rarely, in French through some French missionary. During this season the need for correct translations was very manifest.

During the previous season, 1754, the Company's supercargoes had struck ineffective blows at the official requirement of Security Merchants, and in the end they found that the

system was fastened on them. In the spring of 1755 Mr. Misenor, who had stopped over for a season to buy winter teas and to make contracts for silk, had to encounter a great danger to the Company's interests in a limitation to the small number of Security Merchants of the Chinese traders from whom tea and silk could be bought; this blow fell, in the shape of a mandate from the Viceroy and the Hoppo conjointly, on or about May 5th (or 15th) (25th day of the 3rd moon), about three months before the arrival of Mr. Palmer, and a month and a half before that of Mr. Pigou, with their respective Councils. The mandate incorporated five articles for the regulation of trade, either new or stating categorically what the authorities considered to be existing practice.¹

Article 1st defined the rights and responsibilities of the Security Merchants, who must now be held to be firmly established.

Article 2nd prohibited all shopkeepers from engaging in any description of trade with the Europeans, except in the name of a Hong Merchant, who would assume the liability: and the shopkeepers were to be banded in blocks of five, who were to be mutually responsible for each other.

Article 3rd defined the duties of the Linguists, who were to inform a Hong Merchant before applying in his name for 'Chops for dispatch' (permits).

Article 4th defined the responsibilities: the Security Merchant and the Linguist to be responsible for any crime committed by the supercargoes, captains, officers or sailors: while the supercargoes and captains were to be responsible for the conduct of the sailors.

Article 5th directed that Order and quiet should be maintained in the factories.

These articles were all obnoxious, even the 5th, the enforcement of which was committed to the officers of government, who were thus in a position to interfere in the internal economy of the factories; the 1st had been the field of battle in the previous year, and the rights and duties of the Security Merchants had then been consolidated, while the supercargoes had had to accept defeat; the 3rd regulated the conduct of the linguists and only indirectly concerned the supercargoes; the 4th was in future years to be of vital concern to the Companies and their supercargoes, but its importance was not then manifest; and it was to the 2nd that the attention of Mr. Misenor was directed and on which he protested, in conjunction with his colleagues of

¹ For the full text of these Articles cf. Appendix AI.

the other nations. He saw the danger and gave due warning in his letter to Mr. Palmer's Council:

The real design therefore of the Above mentioned Edicts is to throw the whole business of the place into the hands of a few Merchants, that they may levy as a Recompence what prises they please on the Europeans, and in short, by excluding every other person, to establish a Monopoly which in the End must prove fatal to our Trade, All the Foreign Factory's have considered these Edicts in the same light, and have remonstrated to the Tsongtoug in order to obtain a Re-establishment of their former Priviledges, We readily joined with them in this their application, believing it a point of no small Importance to be at Liberty to deal with whom we pleased, we cannot however boast of our Success, for tho the Tsongtoug gave us the promise of a Chop to authorize a free Trade, Yet this chop when published was a mere Evasion, leaving us entirely in the power of a few Hong Merchants to deal with us upon such terms as they should think proper to prescribe.

The shopkeepers were the ordinary channel for dealing in the commodities in the private trade of the commanders and officers; while for the supercargoes in their transactions on behalf of the Company they provided a means of getting into touch with the country Merchants, when the Hong Merchants offered too little for English woollens and demanded too much for Chinese tea. The supercargoes were now to deal only with the Hong Merchants, whose number (as Mr. Misenor records elsewhere) was reduced to ten, of whom only five could be considered as fully solvent. They protested, but in vain; yet where they failed, the shopkeepers secured a partial mitigation of the strict prohibition of dealings. As a result of their remonstrances they were to be allowed to deal in all Chinese produce such as china-ware, woven silks, and retail articles in general, but were not to deal in tea (except in small boxes for the private trade) nor in raw silk. In foreign imports they were forbidden to buy 'Curiosities of value, such as Pearls, Coral, Chrystal, True Amber &c., all of which being for the Emperor's Use, no Shops shall presume to Interfere'. On the arrival of Mr. Pigou on June 27th, Mr. Misenor informed him of the state of affairs, and Mr. Pigou has recorded in his Diary that his opinion was that

it was usual here annually to publish some edict a month or two before the arrival of the Ships for form sake, and that edicts are not much regarded in this Country, witness the Imperial Edict published in 1736 that abolished the duty of 10 ½ Cent but at the same time exacted the delivery of our Guns, Sails &c^a for the duty was really remitted, but the delivery of the Guns overlooked.

Mr. Pigou was quite correct in his estimate of the efficacy of mandates in general, but in this instance the regulation stood, as modified on the remonstrance of the shopkeepers in July. The Company soon ceased to ship woven silks, leaving the English traffic in them to the private trade; and it continued to ship raw silk until the season 1823. Up to 1823 the Company dealt in raw silk and tea, and from 1824 in tea alone; and these commodities it could, from 1755, obtain from the Hong Merchants alone, the entirely solvent among whom were in 1755 reduced to five, and at times in later years were no more than three in number.¹ The Company had struggled many times in the past, and was to struggle many more times in the future, against the creation of a monopoly; but now, under whatever name it might be disguised, a monopoly had been created in the principal staples of the foreign trade of China.

With all their local anxieties the supercargoes had in addition the fear of impending war to disturb their arrangements. Though hostilities in the Seven Years War did not break out until 1756, friction with France began early in 1755; and as early as October 12, 1755, we find the supercargoes warning the commanders of the English Company's ships that it will be necessary for them to take precautions against the possibility of hostile attack. Mr. Palmer wrote:

By the advices we have had from Europe since our arrival here [they arrived on August 6th], we are apprehensive that a Warr may be possibly broke out in that part of the world before your arrival there, and you being now to take in your Cargoe for England, on Account of our Hon^{ble} Employers—

We therefore think it our Duty to recommend it to you to prepare your Ship in such a manner, as that you may with little trouble be Clear, in case of being attacked by an enemy in your homeward bound passage.

At later dates of dispatch, of the *Rhoda* on December 1st and of the *Prince George* on December 29th, the commanders received sealed orders, informing them that, in view of the increasing threat of war, the President of Madras had written to say that he intended to station a ship forthwith at each of two islands, Poola Panjang and Poola Taijo, at which homeward-bound ships were to rendezvous; and, after the exchange of identification signals, the homeward ships were to send on board the 'stationary' to obtain the latest intelligence of peace or war.

¹ Cf. vol. iv, p. 209.

ACCOUNT OF PROFIT & LOSS ON THE WOOLLEN GOODS

SHIP DRAKE, 1755

Goods.	Prime Cost. £ Stg.	Tales.	Realized. Tls.	Profit + or - Loss	
				Amount, Tls.	Per ct.
Broad Cloth 557 pces = 11,621 yds.	5,225	15,267	13,204	- 2,063	- 13.5
Imbossed Carpets, 359 pces .	414	1,209	538	- 671	- 55.5
Hairbines, 100 pces . . .	782	2,285	2,000	- 285	- 12.5
Hair Camblets 32 pces = 1,746 yds.	780	2,280	1,968	- 312	- 13.7
Serges, 20 pces 508 yds. . .	89	259	203	- 56	- 21.4
Long Ells, 4,899 pces. . . .	9,344	27,300	34,293	+ 6,993	+ 25.6
Princes Stuffs, 5 pces = 252 yds. .	82	241	250	+ 9	+ 3.8
		48,841	52,456	+ 7,002	
				- 3,387	
				+ 3,615	

N.B. The prime cost invoiced at this period was the cost free on board, and did not include freight, insurance, or interest.

STATEMENT OF WINTER TEA (AND CHINAWARE) BOUGHT BY
MR. PIGOU, ETC., AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF THE SHIPS
OF 1755, FOR SEASON 1756

(Statement dated April 28, 1756.)

Bought: Black Tea, 15,830 piculs . . .	Tls. 175,391	
Green ,, 1,499 ,, . . .	34,854	
Chinaaware	15,500	
		225,745
Contracted for: Raw Silk, 800 piculs . . .	Tls. 154,000	
Wrought Silks, 2,880 pieces . . .	19,820	
Hyson Tea, 500 piculs . . .	27,500	
Singlo ,, 2,300 ,, . . .	56,600	
Souchon ,, 100 ,, . . .	3,500	
		261,420
		Tls. 487,165

N.B. Stock left at close of season 1755, Tls. 275,496
Due to Merchants (April 28, 1756) Tls. 211,670

REAL STOCK WITH PIGOU, LOCKWOOD, PEISLEY, AND
KINNERSLEY, CANTON, 1755

Dr. to Silver ☞ Ship Drake, 35 chests	Tls. 101,060	
Lead ☞ ditto	14,788	
Woollen Goods ☞ ditto, sold for	52,456	
		168,304
Silver ☞ Ship Kent, 20 chests	57,748	
Red Wood ☞ ditto	5,321	
		63,069
Silver ☞ Ship Britannia, 20 chests		57,748
Silver ☞ Ship Warren, 20 chests	57,748	
„ ☞ Ship Rhoda for ditto, 5 chests	14,437	
„ ☞ Prince of Wales for ditto, 5 chests	14,144	
Cargo per Ship Warren sold for	37,931	
		124,260
Silver ☞ Ship Prince of Wales, 35 chests		101,060
Silver ☞ Ship Bombay Castle, 35 „		101,060
Mr. Pigou for part of his concern in the Stock of the Drake and Warren	5,844	
Messrs Misenor and Hume, 18 chests	51,974	
Ditto	8,597	
		66,415
		Tls. 681,916
N.B. Silver	Tls. 571,420	
Goods from England „	67,244	
Goods from India	43,252	
		Tls. 681,916
Cr. by the amount of the Drake's Invoice	Tls. 126,538	
St. Helena Stores	594	
		127,132
the Kent's Invoice		76,940
the Britannia's Invoice	86,126	
St. Helena Stores	359	
		86,485
the Warren's Invoice		112,628
Commission of 5 ☞ Cent paid the Supra Cargoes for dispose of the Warren's Country Cargoe		1,897
Commission for the Kent's Country Cargoe Loaned to Messrs Palmer & Council		266
		1,072
		406,420
Ballance of this Account, Jan. 20th 1756		275,496
		Tls. 681,916

September 18, 1755. Settled the China Ware Account with the following Merchants for the Ship Prince George, 120 Chests & 1 Box Musters Viz^t.

	Muster. No.		Tls. m.c.c.	Tls. m.c.c.	Tls. m.c.c.
SUQUA 26 Chests Cont ^s					
10236 Single Plates blue & w ^t . . .	1	at	0.033	337.788	
D. P.					
200 Table Setts Do 3. 12. . . .	2	"	1.000	200.	
4188 Half pint Basons blue & w ^t . . .	3	"	0.014	58.632	
742 Coffee Cups blue & white . . .	4	"	0.010	7.420	
				603.840	
Deduct 2 p. C ^t . . .				12.070	
					591.770
SWEETIA 32 Chests Cont ^s					
1931 Half pint Basons blue & white . . .	5	"	0.015	28.965	
200 Tea Setts Ditto	6	"	1.200	240.	
7 Table Setts Blue & W ^t Octagon } D. P. SD. SP. T. TD. Sal D. 13. 60. 1. 24. 2. 2. 8. Sauce B. Salts 2. 4. }	7	"	15.000	105.	
5158 Single Plates blue & white . . .	8	"	0.036	185.688	
675 Setts of Bowles blue & white 5 in a Sett	10	"	0.500	337.500	
2193 Single Plates blue & w. . . .	11	"	0.036	78.948	
884 Coffee Cups blue & white flat bottom'd with handles . . .	20	"	0.010	8.840	
				984.941	
Deduct 2. P ^r C ^t				19.699	
					965.242
FOOTIA 50 Chests Cont ^s					
50 Table Setts blue & w ^t D. P. SD. P. 5. 20. 1. 12.	9	"	2.600	130.000	
120 Ditto Ditto 5. 20. 1. 12.	12	"	2.600	312.000	
10502 Cups & Saucers blue & white . . .	13	"	0.020	210.040	
105 Cups over	14	"	0.010	1.050	
10186 Cups & Saucers blue & white . . .	14	"	0.020	203.720	
269 Cups over	15	"	0.010	2.690	
5483 Cups & Saucers blue & white . . .	15	"	0.020	109.660	
63 Cups Over	16	"	0.010	630	
50 Table Setts blue & w ^t	16	"	3.600	180.	
D. P. SD. P. T. TD. 5. 20. 1. 12. 1. 1.					
378 Setts Bowles blue & w ^t (3 in a Sett)	17	"	0.060	22.680	
25 Table Setts blue & W ^t D. P. . . .	18	"	0.600	15.	
2. 12.					
Carried over				1187.470	1557.012

	Muster. No.		Tls. m.c.c.	Tls. m.c.c.	Tls. m.c.c.
China Ware Acc ^t Bro ^t forward	.	.	.	1187.470	1557.012
1596 Pint Basons white & flowered	19	at	0.020	31.920	
25 Table Setts blue & w ^t Scallop'd D. P. SD. P. T. TD. SD. Sau B. 13. 60. 1. 24. 2. 2. 8. 4. Salts 4.	21	„	15.000	375.	
609 Half pint Basons W ^t & flowered	22	„	0.015	9.135	
				1603.525	
Deduct 2 p. C ^t	.	.	.	32.070	
					1571.455
PIQUA 12 Chests Containing					
7944 Single Plates blue & white	23	„	0.033	262.152	
Deduct 2 p. C ^t	.	.	.	5.243	
					256.909
120 Chests for the China Ware	.	„	0.420	50.400	
1 Box for the Musters	.	.	.	.100	
					50.500
					Tales 3435.876

Packed at SWEETIA's amongst the China Ware in Chests No. 46 & 47 for the Ship Prince George.

pecul	catty		Tales	m.c.c.
6	16	of Sago at 5 Tales 39 Pecul	30	800

APPENDIX AI

LIMITATION OF THE MAJOR OPERATIONS OF TRADE TO THE HONG MERCHANTS

1755. August 7th.

To Mess^{rs} PALMER, KINNERSLEY and HARRISON.

GENTLEMEN,

We herewith deliver you an Abstract of the last Years Car-goes for England, A List of goods provided by us during our residence here, and the Translations of two Edicts issued by the Government in the Month of May last, relating to the European Trade at this Port, These last are of so extraordinary a Nature and so nearly concern the Hon^{ble} Companys Interest that we think our Selves obliged to enter into some particulars which will draw our Letter to a greater Length than we should otherwise desire.

It is well known that the Securities for the Shipping are obliged to purchase for the Mandareens the Curiosities that are every Year brought from Europe, and that the Mandareens pay but a very small part of their Value, The real design therefore of the Above mentioned Edicts is to throw the whole business of the place into the hands of a few Merchants, that they may levy as a Recompence what prises they please on the Europeans, and in short, by excluding every other person, to establish a Monopoly which in the End must prove fatal to our Trade, All the Foreign Factory's have considered these Edicts in the same light, and have remonstrated to the Tsongtoug in order to obtain a Re-establishment of their former Priviledges, We ready [readily] joined with them in this their application, believing it a point of no small Importance to be at Liberty to deal with whom we pleased, we cannot however boast of our Success, for tho the Tsongtoug gave us the promise of a Chop to authorize a free Trade, Yet this Chop when published was a mere Evasion, leaving us entirely in the power of a few Hong Merchants to deal with us upon such terms as they should think proper to prescribe. Here we must observe that although we have hitherto, seldom transacted any buisness of Consequence with the Shopmen, Yet they were the only people we could employ, if at any time we should have found it necessary to deal with the Country Merchants, and this Communication being now cutt off, is a Consideration of more Importance than does at first suggest it self upon a bare reading of the Edicts, and we doubt not will have its

due weight with You in case it should be necessary to joyn in any farther application to the Mandareens on this Subject.

The great number of Ships which arrived here last Year (being twenty five Sail for Europe) occassioned the very high prices that were given for all sorts of Teas, Green Tea in particular was hardly to be got, and upon the whole the demand for both kinds was so great, that a Sweed and Prussian have wintered here not being able to procure proper Cargoes, Thus the intention of our Winter residence was in some Measure defeated with respect to the purchases of the lower sorts of Teas, We have however a large Quantity of Raw Silk which every day more than other does appear to be a very advantageous purchase, As this article according to the latest Accounts from the Silk Country bears there a very extravagant price. By the orders we have received this Year from England, we are directed to make over to you for the Ships Prince George and Rhoda, Two Hundred Peculs of the said Silk, consisting of two sorts, One half of Sixteen the other half of Twenty two Cocoons, of which you will have an Equal proportion upon the terms of our Contract, and at the prices mentioned, in our List of purchases.

We do not recollect any other Informations that deserve your notice, but if any are Omitted, you will please to let us know, and we shall most readily communicate them—

We are

Gent^{ls}.

Your most hum^{ble} Servants

JOHN MISENOR

ALEX^r HUME.

TRANSLATION OF THE FIRST EDICT CONCERNING THE EUROPEAN TRADE AT CANTON

HIU TSONG-TU Governor of the Provinces Quantong and Quansi, and LY Mandareen Hoppo, We judge very consistent with the Interest of the Royal Revenues committed to our Charge, to have an Eye on the Conduct of the Merchants, to estimate (a Valiendo) fairly the Customs, and to Extripate all the male practice which may in any degree defeat this good purpose.

My Commissions of Tsong-tu and Hoppo granted by the Emperor extend to the Super Direction of the Royal Revenues and Customs, From the time of entering upon my office to this day, I have employed one part of my Leisure in collecting with great Zeal and care all the necessary Informations, that may for the present be of use to this double branch, and may in time to come, be deemed praise worthy.

From the writings of my Predecessors in office it appears that neither Hongist, Interpreter, Shopkeeper or Compradore, governs himself according to rules and Orders, and that this deviation is a growing evil.

Therefore my order to be observed rigorously imports, that every one keeps himself within the Limit of his proper calling, nor shall Hongist by offering under prices supplant Hongist, which added to the shopkeepers practice of deceiving the Europeans, and thereby embarrassing the Contracts, make one cause why the payment of the Customs are so tardy; The Interpreters also take upon them to interfere in Chops of dispatch for Merchandize, and the Compradores point out Roads of Deceit (to deceive) hardly to be imagined, of all these practices I am thoroughly informed, and finally resolved to regulate these abuses, with this View, since the Season for the arrival of the European Shipping is now approaching, I have Ordered this Proclamation to be affixed in all the Customary publick places, to obviate all plea of Ignorance, in either Hongist, Shopkeeper, Interpreter, or Compradore, who are exhorted to give a ready and willing obedience to all and every part of the following Articles—

As to transactions in trade, whether by Sales or Barter, let good faith be preserved, all Deceit to be avoided also where the Emperors Customs may be concerned, The Europeans unacquainted with the Chinese Customs and manners ought to be instructed, and put in the right way, by those who transact buisness with them, and ought to be men of probity, Substance and Strict observers of their promise, Any Person failing in Obedience to this my Edict, must expect severe punishment, without hope of pardon, so that to avoid the Consequence of transgression every one Concerned will do well to Conform himself most Exactly.

Article 1st. The Ship being regularly Imported all Dispatches (Chops) for Goods and all the duties to be transacted in the name of the Hongist Security, this trouble is a branch of his Duty, and altho it be well known to the other Hongists and Shopkeepers, that according to antient Custom the Securities are always answerable for the Hoppo Duties, this notwithstanding purchases of goods are made without thought of the duties, which falling at last upon the Security, the payment is burthensome and Deters the Hongist in general from any Security Engagement. From this day forward for the Loading or unloading of Goods, the Hongist Security is to make his request under hand and Seal, the same formality to be used by any other

Hongist in requesting a Chop with this Addition of being countersigned and Sealed by the Security who is to make good all the Hoppo deficiency.

Article 2nd. To the Shopkeepers dealers with the Europeans, who Engage in Trade without licence from the proper Magistrate, they are hereby forbid either buying or Bartering with the Europeans for any sort of Goods imported under Hong Dispatch, but if they are persons of Substance or Credit, giving the Customary Security may open a Hong and carry on the European Trade by Permission. Now these Shopkeepers are Continually in the European Hong with a View of making Purchases at any price, and when the term of Credit is expired make their payments in bad goods or abscond. Some persons both Chinese and Europeans enter into Contracts without the participation of the Hongist Security, and when solicited for the Customs, bad Shifts and delays, by which means the Hongist is hurt in his fortune, which he feels very sensibly. If these Shopkeepers have goods to sell let them apply to any Hongist or to the Hongist Security to buy or Barter for Europeans Goods that have paid the Customs, nor are they permitted to address themselves directly to the Europeans, Should any of these people with evil design haunt the European houses, such as to Cheat or spoil trade I give Permission to the Europeans, and to the Hongist Security to Exhibit a list of their Names, upon which I will order the proper Magistrate to punish them most severely. My Orders are given to the Nam-ho-yeen to oblige these Shopkeepers used to deal with the Europeans, that every five of them enter into written Contract to be answerable for all their transactions in trade and fair dealing jointly and Seperately. The Hongist Security and the Interpreters shall each of them place some trusty person in the European Hong to observe if any Shopkeeper attempts to enter into private Contracts with the European, and this trusty person is authorized to seize bodily the Offender, and carry him before the Magistrate, and if these trusty persons or the Interpreters be discovered in Collusion, or endeavouring to screen the Delinquent, on the complaint of the Hongist Security, they shall be punished adequate to the Offence.

Article 3rd. Being informed the Interpreters make a Trade of Chops for dispatch using the name of the Hongists without permission, and covering in the dispatch Shopkeepers goods, upon the whole this scene of Knavery is not easy to be unraveled, From this time let the Interpreters know it is their duty to acquaint the Hongist Security, previous to asking a

dispatch, that he may take a note of the goods and the Hongist Proprietor, that his Seal and Signature may be found on the Petition for dispatch countersigned & Sealed by the Hongist Security, the Interpreter acting contrary to this regulation on complaint made may expect severe punishment.

Article 4th. The Ships arrived and the Europeans for want of knowledge in the Language and Customs of China committing many mistakes, it is therefore the duty of the Hongist Security and Interpreter to Instruct them. If any European is guilty of a willfull crime he shall be imprisoned and punished, the Hongist Security and Interpreter shall also be included in the Sentence; The Seamen and Officers of the Europe Ships, some or the Major part are Brutes. On the arrival of the Ships the Hongist Security and Interpreter, shall put the Captain and Supra Cargoes in mind of a special care in governing their people in peace, so as that their behaviour be void of Offence. It is the duty of the Compradore to attend daily on board the Ship, and at the Hong in order to furnish the necessary provisions, these people are Supposed friends to the Europeans and versed in their Customs. If by chance the Europeans get into any quarrel, they shall be punished together with the Hongist Security and Interpreter, the Compradore no ways to be included. From hence forward if the 1st, 2nd or 3rd Supra Cargoes, the Captain or Officers are guilty of any Crime the Hongist Security is held answerable, but if any of the Sailors transgress, the Supra Cargoes & Captains shall be deem'd culpable for not governing their people properly, y^e Interpreter shall also be involved in this Offence.

Article 5th. Being informed that in the Hongs where the Europeans reside, where their Goods and moneys are lodged, and all dispatches made, where all entry should be refused to Vagabonds, whose proper Errand is to purloin or Steal, as also Pedlars skill'd in the European Language who under pretence of selling, really Cheat and Steal, and this in defiance of Orders published annually. When goods are under dispatch in the Hong in the presence of my Officers and weighmen, at that time let there be no noise, the Brokers must employ themselves in some other Hong during this time, and I am also informed that on the reception of Goods in the Hong there is a great concourse of people who make much disturbance, and if any Curiosity appears that offer Exorbitant prices, and employ agents to make the purchase for them. My Officers are hereby order'd to Clear the house of all excepting the Hongist Security, & people of some Distinction, whoever refuses to Submitt to

this Order, let them be drove out by force, or to be seized upon and Chastized by the Hongist Security, Interpreter & C^a. who are hereby authorised for that purpose.

20th Year of Emperors reign 25th of the
3rd Moon.

MANDATE OF THE HOPPO RELATING TO THE EUROPEAN TRADE
ISSUED IN MAY 1755

LY Hoppu having maturely considered the Petition presented by the Hongists Beau Khiqua, Chai Suequa, Ton Chetqua, Chai Hunqua, Suetia and Paun Khiqua, praying that from this time forwards the Shops accustomed by the Europeans be put upon the footing of Honges or that every five Shops shall enter into Articles under the Security of some one Hongist, but to be answerable in all Contracts, One for all and all for One. On the arrival of the Ships from Europe, the said Shops are permitted to deal with private people, but not in any Goods imported for Account of the Companies, Contracts belonging properly to the Hongist Securities, as well as all Curiosities of Value, such as Pearl, Coral, Chrystal, True Amber & C^a all which being for the Emperors Use, no Shops shall presume to Interfere. This Petition grounded upon Custom, I LY Hoppu do confirm, which Order the Nam-hoy-een is by Authority from the Tsongtou to cause to be made publick, Upon enquiry it appears that all Curiosities of Value or Precious things are Imported by private merchants, not for Account of the Companies, and that the Shopkeepers knowing the demand for the Emperor, play many Tricks, such as raising the price, or Concealing the things themselves, or instructing the Europeans to Smuggle them ashore, thus when wanted for the Emperors service they are not to be found, And as this is one branch of my Office, I am necessarily obliged to remedy the Evil, The Shops in Question are permitted to deal in all private goods of common use as already Stipulated herein, to be understood, Such Shops who become licensed by having Acceded to the proper Regulations, These precious Curiosities as to the purchase belong to the Hongist Security, and he is to adjudge the Value. And that no person may plead Ignorance, this Order is to be Affixed in all the publick places as Usual, that all due Obedience may follow. In case of Contravention Punishment without favour will most certainly be inflicted.

In the 20th Year of the Emperor Kien Lung
and the 7th Day of the 4th Moon.

JOINT PROCLAMATION OF VICEROY AND HOPPO PROHIBITING
UNLICENSED TRADE BY SHOPKEEPERS (MAY, 1755)

HIU Tsongtou and LY Hoppu. We jointly Issue out this Order to instruct the Shopkeepers dealers with the Europeans, by pointing out their Errors, and the proper limits of their calling, which they are not to go beyond. The Europeans who come to this place are quite unacquainted with the Chinese Customs and Regulations, therefore the Hongist Security is in general to transact all business, even where the Imperial Revenues or Dispatches of any kind may be Concerned and this Order is intended to secure the Emperors Duties and the Estates of the Hongists. There are discovered many Knaves without any Stock in Trade, who open Shops only with a name in lieu of a Capital, with a View to Cheat their own Countrymen, or the Europeans, buying on Credit their Goods at advance Price, when the day of Payment comes, they instead of money pay in some bad Commodity, or abscond; add to this there are many who engage in European Contracts without the privity of the Hongist Security, and when the Duties are to be made good give nothing but denials or delays, which brings Ruin upon the Hongist Security. Recourse had to the publick Offices (Archives) it appears by different orders from my Predecessors that great pains have been taken to remedy this Evil. Now the Petition of the Hongists Beau Khiqua, Chai Suequa, Ton Chetqua, Chai Hunqua, Suetia and Paun Khiqua praying that all European Contracts may be entirely allotted to the Hongist Security, and that the Commerce of all private goods of common use and Currency be granted to the Shopkeepers trading under Licence. I the Tsongtou and Hoppu on Examining into the number of Shops find upon the List one hundred more or less, but in truth not all trust worthy, some have small Capitals, others are Supported by some Skill in the European Languages. Since the Order totally to prohibit the Shop trade appears somewhat severe, and also regard had to the Hongist Petition, We grant according to the Prayer, and give Order to the Nam-hoy-een to form a List of the Shops and to Oblige them by fives to enter into a Security one for all, and all for One, under the Security of some one Hongist, and We Order this Proclamation to be affixed in all the Customary publick places, that no person may plead Ignorance. As we have granted Licence to the Shopkeepers to traffick in private Goods, this to be understood with previous notice to the Hongist Security, and Payment into his

hands the Amount of the Duties. If the European is any ways defrauded, we hold the Hongist and the Society of five Shops, where the Cheat is one of the number to be answerable, All Contracts for the Companies deemed the province of the Hongist Securities, any Shopkeeper presuming to interfere has to Expect severe punishment without favour or affection.

In the 20th Year of the Emperour Kien Lung and
the 8th Day of the 4th Moon.

SUPPLEMENTARY PROCLAMATION BY VICEROY AND HOPPO
(JULY 14, 1755)

We YANG Tsongtoug and LY Kientou, upon the representations made to us, do Issue this farther order. As the Strangers who come hither to traffic are unacquainted with the Customs and language of the Empire, it hath been heretofore judged necessary to Appoint Thirteen Hong Factories for Foreign Commerce to the end that those Strangers might carry on their Business with the greater Facility. Those who are Securities for the said Hong are obliged to answer for the Customs according to the former regulations, the Shopmen ought not to take upon them to transact Business with those Strangers much less to cheat and defraud them. There are stated Ordinances for securing the Emperor's Customs and for preventing Impositions on Strangers. In the 4th Moon of the present year the Merchants of the Hong for Foreign Commerce represented to us that the Trade carried on at this place for Account of the European Companies ought of Right to be their sole Province. They also petitioned us that with respect to the private Trade brought hither by the principal Strangers, Orders might be given for obliging the Shopmen to enter into an Association by Fives and that they should give Security; which being done they should be permitted to carry on business Upon these Representations we find by Enquiry that the Number of Shops in Canton amount to one hundred and upwards, and although amongst these petty dealers there are some of no Considerable Substance, yet they understand the language of the Foreigners and have small Capitals. To prohibit all of them from dealing with the Europeans would neither be conformable to reason nor to the Regard we entertain for the public Good. The Hongists acknowledge the Justice of these our Sentiments. Wherefore we order the Tchy-hyen or Mandarin of the district called Namhoi to draw out an exact List of the Shops who transact Business with the Foreigners and to oblige them to enter into

joint Bonds, which being done they shall be permitted to carry on a Retail Trade with the Foreigners, and also to deal with them for their private Merchandize, and the Namhoi shall give public Notice thereof by Placart; the whole to be entered in our Registers. And whereas the Foreigners have petitioned us that they may carry on their Commerce according to antient Regulations We have again given orders to the Tchy-hyen or Mandarin of the district called Namhoi to draw out an exact list of the Shops who transact business with the Foreigners, and to oblige them to enter into Joint Bonds and that the whole may be laid before us to the end that the aforesaid Shops may have permission to carry on a Retail Trade, with the Foreigners. For this Reason we make this declaration an order is to be fixed in all Public Places that the Chinese Merchants and Strangers be duly informed thereof. Let the Shopmen conform to it, carrying on their Retail Trade with the Foreigners, without Fraud or Deceit. If any shall contravene these orders he shall be severely punished, let everyone therefore conform to them with respect. Published the 6th of the 6th Moon of the 20th Year of Thieng Lung.

XCVI

ONE COUNCIL AT CANTON, 1756

MR. FREDERICK PIGOU (with him Messrs. Thomas Lockwood, Richard Peisley, and Francis Kinnersley) held over from 1755, and during the off-season (winter and spring of 1756) he bought winter teas at a reduced price and contracted in advance for teas of the crop of 1756 and for raw silk, not only for his own ships but for those of two other Councils as well. The two others were those of Mr. Edward Phipps (with him Messrs. Richard Wood, Robert Mackett, and John Hull) and Mr. Thomas Shore (with him Messrs. John Searle, Stephen Devisme, and Joseph Harrington). The two last were Councils of the year, coming out and going home in their ships; the *Houghton* and *Harcourt* under the charge of Mr. Phipps, the *Stormont* and *Godolphin* under Mr. Shore. Under Mr. Pigou's care were to be the *Suffolk* and *Caernarvon*; but by December 25th, when the season 1756 closed and the ships in port were dispatched, the *Caernarvon* had not arrived.¹ Mr. Pigou and his Council were a continuing link, connecting 1755 with 1756; and at the close of 1756 Mr. Pigou announced his intention of returning to England, and the consequent Consultation throws some light on the relations of the supercargoes with the Directors at this time of transition.

Nov. 18. Consultation. The *Caernarvon* not being arrived it was judged she would not come this Year. Mr. Pigou signified his desire of returning to England in y^e *Suffolk* as did Mr. Kinnersley on account of an unhappy Sprain in his Leg ever since the 2nd of February of which he is quite lame & cannot in this country get cured. Messrs. Lockwood & Peisley were therefore desired to remain in the country to finish next Year the Investment and loading of the *Caernarvon* which they readily agreed to. They Desired Leave to observe that altho' it was their Duty to stay yet it would be a great Loss to them Unless the Court of Directors was pleased to take their Case into Consideration & allow them to remain here after the Dispatch of the *Caernarvon* in Hopes of being appointed here Supra Cargoes in the Year 1758, as they flatter themselves they would be if they were to return this Year to England.

They wrote to the Court of Directors in this sense, and it may be observed that Messrs. Lockwood and Peisley appear to have

¹ The *Caernarvon* 'lost her passage' and wintered at Batavia, coming to Canton in 1757.

been on Mr. Liell's Council in 1757, and that Mr. Lockwood was a member of the Council of ten appointed, under the Presidency of Mr. Henry Palmer, 'to transact the Affairs at Canton of the Hon^{ble} United East India Company for the year 1758'.

The Company's ships arriving at Canton were five in number, besides the *Griffin* and a country ship, the *Hardwick*, at Ningpo. Of foreign ships at Canton, six were Dutch, one French (from Pondicherry), one Danish, and one Prussian, a total of nine foreign. The measurage of the *Suffolk* is given as follows:

Length	78.80 covids	} Measurage, Tls.	1382
Breadth	23.55 ..		} Present, ..
Total ..			3332

On the arrival of each of the Company's ships the orders of the Court of Directors were sent on board forbidding the running of goods;

they also forbid going a shooting on any Pretence whatever, and they expect that during the whole Time the Ship continues in this Port, you take the utmost Care to prevent Quarrels & Frays between the English & French Sailors.

The first English ship to arrive was the *Houghton*, which arrived on July 23rd, without her supercargoes, Messrs. Wood and Hull of Mr. Phipps's Council; they came on August 9th in the Dutch ship *Eendragt* from Batavia,

to avoid bring^g the *Griffin* bound to Limpo on which they came from England to Macao, as it so much hurts the Mandarins here to have a Ship brought into a Port under their Jurisdiction and then carried away without trading.

Mr. Pigou and his Council had during the previous winter bought or contracted for quantities of tea and raw silk, to be paid for or the advance issued on the arrival of the first English ship of the season. They had expected a ship of their own in June, but, as it had not arrived, they wrote to the commander of the *Houghton* desiring that, in the absence of any of Mr. Phipps's Council, to whom he was consigned, he would put himself for the present under their orders; and that, in particular, they should sell his inward cargo and take delivery of his silver for the benefit of the Company. The commander readily assented and forwarded at once thirty chests and one box of silver, or approximately Tls. 87,500. The cargo was from Bom-

bay and Tellicherry, consisting of cotton, sandalwood, putchuck, and pepper; these sold realizing a net profit of Tls. 8,012, but neither the quantities nor the prime cost are given.

Under his instructions Mr. Pigou had bought much of the investment for the other two Councils. The particulars are not completely recorded; for example, the quantity of Bohea is recorded for Mr. Shore but not the chinaware, while the china-ware is recorded for Mr. Phipps but not the Bohea. As this is the first instance where one Council has bought the investment (or much of it) for another Council, such details as are found in the records are given here.

Mr. Shore's Council:

2135 chests Bohea Tea, 5402 piculs, cost	Tls. 59,256
250 piculs raw silk, at Tls. 192.5 ½ picul, to be delivered in	
December (1756) advanced cash Tls. 160 ½ picul	40,000

Mr. Phipps's Council:

Tls. 99,256

156 chests chinaware
Bohea tea, quantity not given
1300 piculs Singlo and Hyson tea
250 piculs raw silk.

In payment Mr. Pigou received, as shown in the records, from Mr. Shore Tls. 99,258, and from Mr. Phipps Tls. 116,649.

The indent for woollens was for 800 half-cloths superior cloth and 200 inferior cloth, 4,000 pieces Long Ells, 100 pieces Serge, 100 pieces Hairbines: the assortment of colours was to be as follows:

	<i>Cloth.</i>	<i>Long Ells.</i>	<i>Hairbines.</i>
Black	50	50	20
Blue	15	20	10
Scarlet	20	20	10
Purple	3	4	10
Cloth Col'r 3 shades	12	6	50
	100	100	100

Gold is mentioned in the private trade:

one lot 285.7 taels weight, 83 touch, cost Tls. 3,000;
one lot 123.7 " " 83 " cost not given;
one lot 827.2 " " 92 " cost Tls. 8,768.

Captain Walpole of the *Houghton* had the privilege to bring out £3,000 in silver for investment in gold,

but it has been so dear and the Touch so low this Year that I must desire to trouble you [Messrs. Lockwood and Peisley] with y^e care of Two Thousand Pounds or 6000 Tales w^{ch} you will please to remit me home in Gold next Year.

Mr. Pigou also 'left with Messrs. Lockwood & Peisley the Paper of the Mortgage on Yee, ho, hong', the implication being that he had advanced money for the acquisition or improvement of his factory.

On November 27th is an entry:

Settled the Account of Expençe for Bevan & Barton which amounts to Tls. 277.

but there are no details.

On the eve of their departure, December 24, 1756, the supercargoes had audience of the Viceroy.

Messrs. Pigou & Lockwood waited on the Tsontou who rec^d them very politely & made them a small present accord^g to the Custom of this Country. Mr. Pigou took his leave of him & desired the continuance of his Protection to the Companys Agents here & Mr. Lockwood signified his Intention of staying here another Year. The Tsontou slightly mentioned the Affair of Limpo, Mr. Pigou took that Opportunity to speak to him in behalf of Mr. Flint against whom he is much indisposed & to assure him that as an Agent of the Company it was his duty to go wherever he was ordered that the going to Limpo was an Act of the Companys & not of Mr. Flints, & that at his Leisure Mr. Lockwood would inform him if he chose it of the Companys Reasons for seeking Redress for several Grievances here which hitherto had been attempted in Vain.

In the Diary for 1756 there are only a very few scanty references to the doings of the *Earl of Holderness* at Ningpo in 1755 and of the *Griffin* in 1756. One such reference is as follows:

The Griffin arrived at Limpo in due Time & we are informed from thence the Business for that Ship & for a Country Ship [the *Hardwick*] from Bombay has been done there.

In the Diary for 1757 there is a complete report, left by the supercargoes at Ningpo in 1756 for the information of their successors, which is embodied in the next chapter.

XCVII

THE ASSAULT ON NINGPO, 1755-6-7

THE revolt against the exactions at Canton did not go so far as the cessation of trading at Canton, but only to supplement that by attempts at Ningpo. Three Assaults were delivered on Ningpo:

in 1755 in the *Earl of Holderness*, with Messrs. Samuel Harrison, Thomas Fitzhugh and James Flint as supercargoes on board:

in 1756 in the *Griffin* with Messrs. T. Fitzhugh, J. Flint and Benjamin Torin as supercargoes, and T. Bevan as a lad learning Chinese and making himself generally useful: also the country ship *Hardwick* from Bombay:

in 1757 in the *Onslow* with Messrs. Samuel Blount and James Flint as supercargoes, and T. Bevan as student.

The Diaries of the voyages of the *Earl of Holderness* and the *Griffin* are not extant; and, apart from passing references in the Diaries of some of the Canton Councils,¹ the most satisfactory account of those two voyages is contained in a letter from the supercargoes of 1756 written for the information of their successors of 1757, as follows:

The following Letter To the Supra Cargoes appointed for Limpo.

GENTLEMEN

Enclosed you have an Account of the Holderness's and Griffin's Import and Export Cargoes: A Price Current 1756, An Account of the Manner of Paying the Duties, The Price of Provisions Anno 1755 and 1756, Cooleys Wages, with Presents &c^a agreed to be given, An Account of 103 Chests of Bohea Tea left at Limpo with a Recei't for the Money Paid for it, and the Terms it was bought upon, And the 20 Artickles of Trade first Deliver'd to the Towya by Mr. Harrisson, and as the Trade we hope is now settled, we beg leave to acquaint you with a few Particulars that have happen'd in the Carrying on, the Two first Years.

On the arrivall of Mr. Harrisson the Towya & Fooyewerm (*sic*) were so desirous of giving him encouragement, that they Conceded to almost all the Articles, in the Memoriall he Presented them with, but in doing this they greatly Exceeded their Power, for about a Week after the Holderness's Arrival, The Tsongtoc who was then in the Province of Fokien, sent an Order for all the Great Guns, small Arms and Ammunition to be taken out of the Ship, And to have the same Duties Laid as at Canton, or to leave the Place.

Tho' the Fooyewerm could not Act directly against this Order, he did

¹ Cf. *antea*, pp. 25, 48.

not Comply with it but sent it Directly up to Court, together with an Account of what he had done, and by that means put it out of the Tsongtoc's Power, as well as his own, to make an Absolute Decision. As it would have been the End of September before an Answer could Possibly Arrive from Pekin, the Mandarins here agreed to let Business begin, on Condition that half the Number of Guns and Ammunition given an Account of, was delivered into their Possession: which rather than Detain the Ship another Season, as wou'd Probably have been the Case, was consented to: upon which they took out 12 of the Great Guns, without Troubling themselves about the small Arms: or Gun Powder, and the Ship was Permitted to begin Unloading about the End of August.

When the order came from Court which was about the Latter End of September, it directed that we should Pay the same Duties as at Canton and as to the Guns all that Mentioned about them was, that at Canton the Ships kept their Guns in and that at Amoy when the Trade was there, they were taken out, which was leaving the Tsongtoc at Liberty to Act as he Pleased, he Persisted in his first Demand and was Angry with the Military both of Limpo and Chusan for Compromising the Affair.

The whole time the Ship Stay'd this Mandarin gave us as much Trouble as he could, by Ridiculous Enquiries and Needless examinations which the People here think, was owing to his connections with the Tsongtoc of Canton, who has Try'd every means within his Power to overset the Trade of Limpo: And this is not to be Wonder'd at, when one considers the Continual Check it must be to Canton, that we have another Port always Open to go to in the Case of new Impositions which tho' it has sometimes been Threaten'd has never till now, been in the Power of any one to Put in Execution.

Two of the Principal Articles Stipulated by Mr. Harrisson Relating to the Arms and Duties were now entirely Broke, and it will be Proper here to Observe to you, that the 1st, 2nd, 5th, 6th, 18th & 20th have never been Complied with, and the 8th, 12th, 15th & 16th, but Partially, when the manner of Paying the Duties was to have been Settled, The Secretaries would do nothing without the Promise of 1800 Ta^s a Ship present, besides a Seperate Present for the Year among the Officers of 800 Ta^s, as a gratuity for making them easier than at Canton, and this as there was no Avoiding it was agreed to, but when the first Duties came to be Paid in, they insisted on 15 p Cent instead of 8 to make our Money Sisee, under Pretence of wasting in the Melting and Charges in Carrying the Money to Pekin, To Rectify this unreasonable Demand the Towya was apply'd to, but to no Purpose As the Remedy was in our own Power, the Present $\frac{3}{4}$ Ship was Reduced to 1200 Ta^s which tho' it Caused much Dispute when the Holderness went away, is now fixt at that Sum.

As the Customhouse Pecul was 10 p Cent lighter than Ours it was agreed to give the head Weigher 545 Ta^s the Difference of the Dotchin, to make one equal to ours: Weigh all Goods by it, and let it Remain in the Office, as a President for the next Year, but this being done without the Fowya's Knowledge, and not Registered it was Burnt as soon as the

Ship went away. The above was all that was given on Account of the Ship, Except about 500 Ta^s to the Fowya in Cloth &^{ca} and 280 Ta^s to the Mandarines in Watches and other Trinketts.

The whole Business of the Year, was Carried on with some Difficulty, which was Reasonable to be Expected when the first Magistrate of the Province discountenanced it to the Utmost of his Power, Mess^{rs} Harrison, Fitzhugh and Flint Tryed every Method, they could think on, to fix a Residence here, but to no Purpose, and the Two latter were forced to go to Batavia there to wait for the next Limpo Ship.

When we Arriv'd in the Griffin which was the 10th of July We found that many falcities, had been told to the Mandarines, by the People of the Hong where the Ship was Enter'd, of our not having Paid them, according to agreement, and of their losing a good deal of Money by us &^{ca} and at the same time the Towya (we heard) had given Ear to their Aspersions: but at our first Visit we soon Convinced him in how Vilainous a manner Hanquan and Suquan, our last Years Hongists had behaved in regard both to him and Us: and at the same time let him know we design'd Sequan for our Hongist and desired him to give out a Chop for that Purpose, which he soon agreed to.

As Hanquan and Suquan had against the Consent of the Gentlemen of Last Year, Levied 3 ½ Cent on all the Imports and One ½ Ct. on the Exports, we made Sequan enter into an agreement to be our Hongist on the following Terms: to have 600 Ta^s for his Trouble in doing the Business, 100 Ta^s for the Expence of the Mandarines Eating &^{ca} when the Ship is unloading and Loading, and 1200 Ta^s to Answer for all presents to the Mandarines at going away. Besides this we helped him by sending our green Teas to his Warehouse on which he had 3 ½ Cent as at Canton. The Business of these Hongists is to take out all Chops from the Customhouse, to let us know of all orders sent us from the Mandarines, and to acquaint them when we want to see them: The Mandarines however make another Use of these People, and bind them to be answerable for our Behavior, by which means upon every Irregularity they get Money from them: this we are afraid is not to be got the better of, as these Exactions are a sort of Perquisites to the Lower Mandarines.

The Towya at this first Visit let us know the Tsontoc still Remained our Enemy, and that we must Compromise the Affair of our Arms, as he had done the Year before, by delivering up half which we did accordingly: The Quantity given an Account of was 30 Musketts, 12 Pistolls, 20 Cutlasses, 70 Shot, 4 Peculls or Barrels of Gun powder, and all the Great Guns, and here it will be Proper to Observe, that when you come among the Islands, before the Ship gets into Chusan, there will be People from the Men of War, come on Board to Enquire into the Number of their Arms, Ammunition &^{ca} and by always keeping to Number you first tell them, you will save yourselves Much Trouble: We gave in the above Quantity's because they agreed with the Holderness's last Year, and as they are nearly the same as are given an Account of at Canton.

The Arrival of the Hardwick from Bombay about the middle of August put the Tsongtoc so much out of humor, that he declared all the

great Guns should come out of both Ships, and we were once afraid the Country Ship, would be sent away, on which account, and to make things easy we sent on Shore all the Powder and small Arms given an Account of, and after Mr. Ross had done the same, he was allowed to begin Business. The Mandarines wanted very much to see the Powder Rooms, which we would by no means Permit, nor even let them see the Powder taken out. We gave the Towya and Secretary's 1100 Ta^a for altering the Pecul, and Covid, and settling with the Tares of the Chests, which is Registered in the Offices. This is all we have given this Year Expect (*sic*) 455 Ta^a in furs, Glass and Carpets, which were sent out with that Design.

Both Capt^a Court and Capt^a Dethick have given it as their Opinion, that it is next to Impossible to have one of our Ships, come up the River with Safety so that any Attempts of that sort, we Suppose will not now be thought on. Having the Factory at Limpo, and the Ship at Chusan, is certainly very inconvenient, as it is the Cause of many Delays, as well as the Goods being liable to damage by bad Weather, which in the Winter is very frequent, and Pilferage of the Boatmen, for they lay Six or Eight Days sometimes in the Boat, and besides this it distresses the Hongist who has two sets of Mandarines to deal with. If you could have the Towya reside at Chusan, or get a Particular Privilege of going up to Limpo, whenever you desire it; Chusan seems much the more Eligible Place.

As to our Business, we did all Except the green Teas with Yongquan and Wunquan; the Latter died about the middle of Decemb^r. before half his Bohea Tea, or a Pecul of the Raw Silk was deliver'd: and it was by Yongquan's means, who Persuaded three of Wunquans People to Join with him, that we got our affairs Bro^t to a tolerable Conclusion: on which Account we desire to recomend him to your Particular Notice, as any Service you can do him, will be but a proper acknowledgement, for the Use he has been of to the Company: for these two last Years, and he is a very deserving Man. Our Singlo and Hyson we bought of Shing-yquan and Tcuern-quan two Country Merchants, Mr. Flint is acquainted with who behaved very well in their Contract to Us.

In all our Contracts except with the Singlo Merchant, we made them stand to all risques and Charges to the Delivery on Board, the export duties Excepted. In taring the Bohea Chests we take a Pound more than the Chest Weight, but in no others, and in all our Contracts for Bohea Tea, we make the Merchants agree to have the Lead on the Inside of the Chest, Weigh 20 Catteys.

We have made it a Rule with the Merchants to Tare Singlo and Hyson Teas to half a Pound, we have bought and Packed 103 Chests of Bohea Tea and left it at Limpo for you, the Particulars of which you have inclos'd.

Mess^{rs} Flint and Bevan go to Batavia to wait for the next Limpo Ship as we could not get leave for them to stay here As we were Coming away we Receiv'd an Edict from the Tsongtoc's Office that tho' the duties have for these two last Year been easier than at Canton, yet if we were resolv'd to come to this Port, we must Expect to have them rais'd: and

in the same Edict, he advises us, rather to Trade to Canton than here: but as the whole is wrote in a Vague manner, we imagine is done with no other intent than to let the Tsontoc of Canton See, he has done every thing in his Power to discourage Us.

We wish you Gentlemen, all Possible Success in the pursuance of this Scheme, which we hope will soon Prove of the greatest advantage to the Company: and are

Your most Obedient Humble Serv^{ts}

THO^s FITZHUGH

JAMES FLINT

BENJ^a TORIN

Chusan

Jan^y 25th 1757.

The *Onslow* sailed from St. Helens Road (Isle of Wight) on December 3, 1756, under convoy of the *Woolwich* and the *Winchester* men-of-war, with a fleet of forty-two sail of merchantmen, left the convoy on December 12th, and anchored in St. Helena Road on February 18, 1757. She remained there until March 11th, and anchored in Batavia Road on June 6th, Mr. Blount having come from England in the ship. There she was joined by Messrs. Flint and Bevan, who had left Malacca on March 6th and arrived at Batavia March 24th; but the preceding narrative from Messrs. Fitzhugh, Flint, and Torin had been sent under cover of a letter from Messrs. Lockwood and Peisley dated Macao, March 13th. The day before arriving at Batavia the *Onslow* lost all three topmasts, and the necessity for replacing these kept her until June 20th; then she sailed and anchored at Kittow Point (abreast Chusan Island) on July 22nd. The next day

In the morning the Mandarinines from the Men of War junks came on board and acquainted us we must upon no account go up to Limpo [Ningpo], but to Chusan [Tinghai, the port and administrative city of Chusan] according to the orders of the Tsongtoc which were delivered to the Gentlemen of last year, just before their departure, where we shou'd hear further. Left the Ship in the Pinnace and about noon got to Chusan, and waited upon the Mandarinines who were all assembled to receive us: They informed us that we must not expect to trade here this year upon the same advantageous Terms we had done the two last, and at the same time they showed us a Chop that had been represented by the Tsontocs of Canton and this Province to the Emperor, shewing the ill Consequences of being allowed to come to this place, The Substance of which was that the duties by being much lower here than at Canton, all the ships wou'd in a few years quit that port which is at present in a very flourishing Condition: and that the Cargo's which they carry to Europe, being chiefly the produce of this part of the Country, the

Emperor lost a considerable revenue which those Goods would otherwise bring in, if carry'd over land to Canton.

The Emperor's answer was that all his ports were open to foreigners, but at the same time order'd that in case we persisted to come here; to double the duties both on the Imports & Exports, to what was paid at Canton, which if we did not chuse to agree to we might quit the place, and said that he had rather we wou'd confine the Trade to Canton.

The Mandarines then gave us the particulars of the present duties as they were sent from Court, and desired us to give them a speedy answer whether we wou'd consent to pay them, or not, that they might make their representations accordingly to the Towya [Tao-yeh, Taotai, Taoyin], who at present is at Limpo: who's positive orders, they informed us, they have not to let us quit this place, till we have given or refused our consent to pay the customs, according to the present regulation. We told them we were greatly surprized to find the Terms of trade so greatly alter'd, when we thought every thing had been settled last year. That as to giving them an immediate answer, we could not, till we had examined the particulars that they had delivered to us, which we wou'd do as soon as possible. When we came home we got the Duties read over to us, and upon calculating them found them about double to what we paid last year, but if they are to be reckon'd in the Canton method, they will amount to more than 144 ⅔ Cent which it's probable they will insist upon.

The Mandarins allowed one day to pass, but on July 25th they sent for the supercargoes and demanded an immediate reply, acceptance or refusal to pay the increased charges, in order that they might inform the Towya. The supercargoes, alleging that their predecessors had dealt direct with the Towya, claimed the same privilege and declared that they would deliver their answer in person to that official. On the next day the military and civil authorities played a game of battledore over their bodies: the Towya sent a message that on the following day he would send a delegate to talk with them; the Chongping [Tsungping, the Officer commanding the troops in Chusan] ordered them to return at once to their ship; and the Hein [Hien, actually the Tinghai Ting, the civil magistrate], apprehensive lest the Towya's delegate should fail to see them, ordered them not to go. On July 27th,

In the afternoon the Mandarines being met, we went to them: they acquainted us it was the Emperor's Pleasure we should Trade to Canton, and not to this Place, and tho' he did not chuse absolutely to forbid us the Port, yet as he had raised the Duties so very high (of which design they had inform'd us last Year) it amounted now almost to a Prohibition: They therefore advised us to go to Canton. We not yet having seen the Secretaries of the Customs who are the only People, who can let us

into the Truth of the present state of our Affairs, to know in what manner the present Duties are to be calculated, and it having been hinted to us before, by the Merchants, that all this opposition was only outward show, and that they acted in this manner, to let the Tsongtoc see, they had discouraged us as much as possible: We thought it by no means proper to give them a positive answer whether we would pay the Duties or not: but told them that altho' we had been informed last year, that the Duties would be raised this, yet we could not possibly imagine, they would have been so very high.

Since, however, their trading to Ningpo was disagreeable to the Emperor and the Mandarin, they begged they might be allowed to supply themselves with provisions during their stay, which must be at least two months, until the monsoon should change; they would then sail away, but not to Canton, which was not included in their orders.

The Ningpo Fu had meantime come down to Chusan, and, on July 28th,

The Foo and Hein [Hien or Ting] having orders, to go on Board our Ship, we went with them, but what they intended we cannot conjecture, only asking a few trifling questions, and Mustering the People: when they left the Ship they told us, we must remain on Board, till we heard from the Towya, but that if we would send our boat to Chusan we might have fresh Provisions.

For some days the supercargoes possessed their souls in such patience as was possible, but on August 5th they again went to Chusan to see the Civil Magistrates, the Foo and the Hien, and informed them that they could not consent to pay the increased duties,

and desired they would represent to the Towya, to give orders, for our Tea and things at Limpo to be brought on Board, and [when] we had received them we would quit the Port, as soon as the Season would permit. They seemed greatly surprized when they heard our design of going away, which tho they had always expressed themselves till now desirous of, they show'd themselves greatly disapointed at our resolution, which they had no reason to think was a feigned one: They confessed their surprize, and said there must be something besides the duties, that was the Cause of our going away. . . . We told them we undoubtedly came here to Trade, but not upon any conditions they should please to prescribe, and if we could not Transact our Business upon advantageous, Safe and Honorable terms, we were determined never to Submit to the Contrary, however disadvantageous it might be to us to leave the Port.

Thereupon the supercargoes again became the shuttlecock between the Civil and Military authorities, and at 4 o'clock in the

morning of the 7th, by order of the Chongping, they returned to Kitto Point; but there they went on board 'the first Mandarin's Junk' and declared their intention to proceed to Chinhaï and there lay their complaint of the insolence of the Military at Chusan. They were, however, persuaded to wait, and on August 12th, twenty-one days after their arrival at Kitto Point, sixteen days after their declaration of their intention to quit the port, they had their first audience of the Towya; this was purely formal, but later on the same day

About Noon two of the [Customs] Secretaries came to us, and assured us of the favorable disposition of the Towya, in our favor and told us that now the Tsontoc had resigned, and the apprehension of that Officers resentment was over, they made no doubt but we should be able to settle things as well as we could with reason expect this Year. As these People have been in the Office ever since our opening the Trade, and have always behaved themselves very well, we can depend upon what they say for truth, being very honest Men. We therefore . . . told them we had heard the Towya was greatly addicted to drinking, and that he was intirely Governed by his lower Officers and favourites, who we were inform'd had layed a Scheeme to distress our Merchants, and to force us to deal with them. . . . They inform'd us the Towya could drink a great deall, but did not intoxicate himself, that he was inclinable to Pride, and loved flattery, but that he was polite and really a Man of Honor.

The Secretaries then reassured them on the subject of pressure being exercised to induce them to deal with others than their own Merchants.

We then desired to know the reason of the great alteration in the Customs, and if the Emperor had ordered them to be doubled of his own accord. . . . They said it was owing to the Mandarin's and Merchants of Canton, that the latter had spent above 20,000 Ta^a in getting things represented at Court, to their own advantage, and to our prejudice, and to the joint requests of the two Tsongtocs, of Canton and this province, to get us forbid the port, or to raise the duties to force us from it; and tho' the Emperor did not consent to the former, he could not refuse the latter, the two [being] such favorites and Men of high rank, tho' he unwillingly comply'd. The Duties were not ordered to be doubled by him, but left intirely to the regulation of the Tsongtoc here, who was to send them up to Court, there to be Confirmed: that he propossed to make them treble, to what they are at Canton, and would have done so, had not the late Towya opposed it.

Being thus reassured as to the attitude of the Towya and the likelihood of his interfering with the dealings of the supercargoes, and trusting to the honesty of intention of the Secre-

taries, the supercargoes conceived that their best policy, at the moment, was to make what fight they could on the duties and other charges. The duties will be considered later.¹ Among the modifications asked for was

that the Ship and all goods should be Measured by the Canton Covid, which is near three Inches longer than the one they make use of here.² . . . The only new imposition we could not alter, was the 1950 Tales present, which is ordered to be levied here this Year, as well as at Canton, the principall part of which goes to the Emperor: and the Particulars of every article of it, are specified: We disputed this Subject a good while, but finding it impossible to be got off, or Compromised, we thought it better to Comply than leave the Port: which we must absolutely have done, if we had refused to pay it.

The conference was long, from noon to 9 p.m., when the Secretaries left to report to the Towya; they returned at 11 and continued until after midnight, being delightfully vague and reassuring, and even such concessions as were definite must be *ad referendum*, as the 'Foo-yewern's Consent must be had to them'.³ The supercargoes then made a stand on the requirement which had been enforced in the previous two years, that a portion of the ship's arms and ammunition should be landed—a stipulation which they characterized as dishonouring and humiliating.

The principal advocate of the Cantonese claims was the Viceroy of Min-Che [Min-Fukien; Che-Chekiang]; he had shown himself in 1756 opposed to foreign trading at Ningpo or Chusan, and was equally opposed in 1757. Soon after their arrival the supercargoes record on August 4th:

The inveteracy of the present Tsongtoc continues so very violent against our Tradeing here, there seems to be nothing he would stop at to make us leave the Place, and as the Emperor has not absolutely forbid us the Port, we think it adviseable not to irritate this Officer by staying, least by the great favor he is in with his Master, he may have influence enough at last (in case we persist) to get him, to order none of his ports to be open to Foreigners but Canton, which will take of [off] all restraint from the Mandarines and Merchants there when they shall find us wholly in their Power, and will likewise utterly prevent the Hon^{ble} Company's

¹ Cf. *postea*, p. 59.

² The foot in use at Ningpo: tailors 13.62 inches; carpenters 10.88 inches; land 11.75 inches. The Canton foot of 14.1 inches was used only for foreign trade.

³ The Viceroy of Fukien and Chekiang was stationed at Foochow; the Governor (Fuyuen) of Chekiang was at Hangchow; the highest official at Ningpo was the Taotai.

trading here again, which in a few years may be brought about in case of his death or resignation, who is now above 70, for while he remains in his present post, there is no prospect of ever reestablishing it upon an advantageous footing.

The Viceroy seems, in fact, to have been the chief obstacle to making some compromise, which it was apparently the object of all the Chekiang officials to make—the Governor at Hangchow, the Towya and the Customs people at Ningpo, and the civil authorities on Chusan; such was the impression obtained from conversations with the Merchants with whom the supercargoes had done business in 1756. On the arrival of the Towya, on August 11th,

The Hein . . . informed us the Towya was greatly desirous of settling things as much as lay in his power to our satisfaction. This sudden alteration in our favour is owing to the News which came four days past, of the Tsongtoc's resignation of his post on account of ill health so that their fear of him is now over.

The Viceroy's illness was not one of command, for he died of it; and to succeed him the Viceroy of the Two Kwang was transferred from Canton, as the supercargoes learned on September 27th. This secured the complete victory for Canton and effectually suppressed all attempts of the East India Company to obtain freedom for their trade.

On August 24th the Governor's answer came to the Towya's report. On the measurage and the 'present' there was no concession; there was some relaxation of the burden of duty on exports; from the increased import duty there was already a deduction of 20 per cent., which was refused; no demand would be made for the landing of the ship's armament. The settlement was not satisfactory, but it was the best that could be obtained; and such as it was, it was terminated on the arrival of the new Viceroy, who came to ensure the victory of Canton. On August 24th the *Onslow* moved into Tinghai harbour, and on September 1st the supercargoes went up to Ningpo, being then about thirty-five miles from the ship, of which about ten miles were in the river and twenty-five by sea. The ship was measured, and calculation is so exact that it is copied almost in full; the decimals, as is customary in Chinese government accounts, are given to the ninth place ($\frac{1}{1,000,000,000}$ th of a tael), but only three places are given here.

Length	covids	79·9
Breadth	„	21·2
multiplied is	(sic) units	165·148
„ by		7·777777
the product is		1284·484
20 𐀓 Ct. deducted is		256·897
		1027·587
Add 12 𐀓 Ct. for the Comptroller & Secretary after deducting		
10 𐀓 Ct. from it		110·980
		1138·567
Add 15 𐀓 Cent. to make it Sisee		170·785
		1309·352
	Ta ^s	
Anchorage as under which is part of the 1950 Ta ^s Present		1131·680
Deduction of 10 𐀓 Cent.		113·168
		1018·512
Added to make it Sisee (15 𐀓 Cent.)		152·777
		1171·289
	Ta ^s	
To the Emperor on going away which is remaining part of 1950		
Ta ^s Present		778·711
		1950·000
	Ta ^s	

The ship had a stock of silver, 30 chests containing 120,000 dollars (Tls. 86,623), besides 3,951 yards of Cloth, 300 pieces of Long Ells, and 1,345 piculs of lead. The total duty on the English products was Tls. 2,565; the calculation of the duty on Cloth will serve as a sample of all:

Length (3591 yards =)	9877·5 covids	
Deduction 20 𐀓 Cent	1975·5 „	
		covids 7902·
Duty at 1 m. (1 mace = Tls. 0·10) 𐀓 covid	Tls.	790·200
Addition of 10 𐀓 Ct. for the Officers		79·020
Do. of 1 c. 6 c. 𐀓 Tale (1·6 𐀓 Ct.) first deducting 8 𐀓 Ct. from 1 c. 1 c.		11·632
Do. of 3 c. 8 c. on every covid after ded ^s 8 𐀓 Ct.		27·625
Do. of 1 c. 0 c. on every 10 cov. after ded ^s 10 𐀓 Ct. & from the remain ^s 9 c., 2 𐀓 Ct. more		6·970
Do. of 7 cash on every 10 cov. ded ^s 10 𐀓 Ct. and then 2 𐀓 Ct. from the remainder		4·878
	Tls.	920·325
Addition of 15 𐀓 Ct. to make Sisee		138·048
	Tls.	1058·373

The Cloth was sold, 1st quality Tls. 1.00 ½ Covid (1 yd. = 2.5 cov.)

	2nd	„	„	0.75	„	
	3rd	„	„	0.50	„	
Long Ells	.	.	.	.	.	Tls. 9.50 ½ piece
Lead	.	.	.	.	.	„ 4.30 ½ picul

After paying duty (it was paid on imports and exports at Ningpo by the supercargoes) it was calculated that on the woollens there was 25 ½ Cent. profit on the cost f.o.b.

For the investment were bought chinaware, tea, and raw silk. The duties were calculated on precisely the same percentages of deduction and addition as are given above for the woollens imported, as follows:

Chinaware, 206 piculs (reckoned 2nd sort),	.	.	at Tls. 0.4 ½ picul
Tea, fine (Hyson, Singlo, Souchong) 2062 piculs,	.	„	0.4 ½ „
coarse (Bohea) 1705 piculs	.	.	0.1 „
Raw Silk, 102 piculs (6/10 fine)	.	.	10.80 „
(4/10 coarse)	.	.	1.00 „

The total duty paid on exports was Tls. 4,736. The tea was bought, Bohea generally for Tls. 10 a picul, Hyson Tls. 42, Twankee Tls. 22.

The price paid for raw silk ranged from Tls. 225 to Tls. 250; and at the close of the season as much as Tls. 260 to 270 was asked for further supplies, but not paid.

The newly appointed Viceroy arrived at Ningpo on November 25th. A week later, on December 2nd, the Towya came in person and informed the supercargoes

that the Tsongtoc wonders what can be the reason of any of our Ships coming to Limpo in preference to Canton, which is the Proper Port for the European trade, and where all our Goods are to be acquired so easily. As Limpo is solely for Vessels, which come from Japan and Corea. He thinks it also unreasonable for us to expect to have Liberty to trade where we please when we will not permit the Chinese Junks to go only to Batavia and Borneo. He says the Emperors motive for raising the duties upon us here was not with the intention to put so much more into his Treasury, but to Oblidge us to confine the trade to Canton, That the Measurage formerly for Europe ships was 3500 Ta^a and the lowering it since was a favor particularly granted to Canton, and not to any other Port, That the Emperors revenue suffers considerably, by our Goods which come down to this Place avoiding two Custom Houses, at which all Merchandize pay, in going to and coming from Canton, upon which account if we intend to come here next Year, we shall not be received: and he therefore desired we would sign an obligation, that we would not make such an Attempt. He Orders, when we go away, that we upon no Account leave any Goods or anything else behind us, by way of making that an excuse for our coming: and wants to know when we shall go away.

The supercargoes, besides refuting the assertion that Chinese junks were not free to go to any port in the British dominion or under British control and declaring their inability to sign an undertaking not to return, returned an answer to the Viceroy the same evening:

The Hon'ble Company's motive for opening this Port was owing to great Numbers of Foreign Ships which for these five or six Years past, have come to Canton, by which means goods of all sorts are vastly risen there, so that our Trade turns out to little or no advantage: upon which account it was at first intended to decrease the Number of Ships to China, but upon their recollecting they formerly traded to Limpo, they had a mind to Try, if by dividing their Ships some here and some at Canton, they could not continue their usuall Number and were the more induced to this by the knowledge of the Green Teas and Raw Silk being nearer at hand here, and consequently a probability of purchasing them upon better terms. . . .

As the Hon'ble Company cannot be yet acquainted with the new regulation, the Emperor has been pleased at make this Year, of the Mesurage and Customs which is registered [recorded] in the Office, They will certainly send Ships here next Year: but when they hear by the Arrival of our Ship how excessively high the duties are at present, we make no doubt but they will lessen their Number of Ships to China.

The Viceroy was firm in his declarations for the future, while allowing the supercargoes to complete their business in accordance with the contracts they had made, and to profit by the concessions they had secured; and he issued a definite mandate that they should leave Ningpo not later than January 7, 1758. On that day they begged the Towya to grant a short extension, but

he told us he should be willing himself to Comply with our Request, but that the Tsongtoc had Possitively ordered us, to quit Limpo by this Day, whose orders must be obeyed, and therefore he could not permit us to lay one Night more on Shore: He then acquainted us, he believed it would be in Vain for us to think of Coming here next Year, as the Tsongtoc had ordered the Mesurage to be 3500 Tales, and the Duties double to what [they] are this Year, as we should see by a Chop, which he then gave us. . . . He also informed us, that we must pay the Usual Hongage of the Place, if we continue the Trade, which is 3 ½ Cent on both our Imports and Exports. . . . Examined the Chop the Towya gave us, and found the Mesurage alone (exclusive of the 1950 Ta^s Present) ordered to be 3500 Tales and the Duties of Raw Silk Teas and China Ware, to be Quadruple to what is paid at Canton.

The supercargoes, having cleared the factory, left Ningpo at

9 p.m. on January 7th; received the last of their raw silk, twenty-nine bales, at Tinghai (Chusan); and sailed in the *Onslow* on January 20th.

All the Mandarines from Chusan came on board today [17th] and informed us that we must not attempt to come here next Year, and said if we did come, The Tsongtoc had given them positive orders not to receive us, and even not to represent above [report] the arrival of any Ships at all, This we think a very bold and Extraordinary Step in the Tsongtoc, but decisive in putting an End to our Trade here.

The *Onslow* proceeded to Macao, where it had been decided to leave Messrs. Flint and Bevan; and on February 15th Mr. Blount wrote to Mr. Liell at Canton, informing him that the Portuguese authorities of Macao had been required to give an undertaking that they would not send or lend any vessel to go to Ningpo, and that the Künmin Fu of Casa Branca had sent to ask under whose protection Mr. Flint had placed himself at Macao. Mr. Blount expressed his apprehension for Mr. Liell's position at Canton and his fear lest the Canton Council might be detained 'on account of the Limpo Scheme, or Mr. Flint's staying here' (at Macao); and he informed his colleague that the *Onslow* would be held ready for immediate dispatch, in case it might not be possible to get the Company's ships away from Whampoa. The record closes with an

Abstract of an Edict from the Tsongtoc of Canton.

In Consequence of the above deliberations, the Viceroy for Tsongtoc (for the time being), and we Intendant of the Customs, perceiving that the English Vessels are upon the point of their departure for Europe, and that Messrs Blount & Flint are Arrived at Macao. We address these and orders to Tchy-Hien, to notify the same in conjunction with the Eurl, Fow and others who have the inspection of the Port of Macao to the above mentioned Gentlemen, and that they may be fully informed, we order you to give them Copies, as also to all Foreigners, that they may also be acquainted, in future all Ships must come to the Port of Canton, where they may choose whatever Hongist they please to do their Business with as Usual. We considering the Good and Clemency of his imperial Majesty towards all Strangers, do renew our orders to every Hongist, to act with the Strictest Justice, and not to suffer themselves to be lead away through the desire of too great Profit, to do unjustifiable Actions, that the Ships may have no pretence whatever to go to the Port of Tche-Kien, where they will expose themselves to the necessity of being Obligated to leave the said Port, which will be Attended with a considerable loss of their Time, their Capitall with many other Embarrassments, and running Risques of which they will have reason to repent.

You must take a Certificate from every foreign Merchant as a proof that they will Act conformable to these our orders.

We give Mr. Flint Copy of our orders, that he may upon his return into Europe, acquaint all Foreign Merchants that in future no Ships can go to the port of Tche-Kien, that it is absolutely forbid, and as a proof of their Complying with these our orders, you are to take a Certificate from every Merchant, that they will not expose themselves to inconveniences which will otherwise consequently follow.

XCVIII

TRADE AT CANTON, 1757-1758

THE only particulars of the trade at Canton available for the season 1757 are contained in the following two letters received at Ningpo by the supercargoes at that port:

To Mess^{rs} Samuel Blount and Jam^s Flint.

GENTLEMEN,

Your Favor under date of the 15th past, I had the Pleasure to receive the 14th Inst. I wrote Mr. Blount by a relation of Yongquans the 12th of this Month, who I imagine will arrive much about the time you Receive this. We have yet no news of our Ships from England, and are under great uneasiness for Mr. Liell. The Ships arrived, are the Royall Duke, Caernarvon, one Dutch and One Sweed. The Royall Duke waits the arrival of her Supra Cargoes, her Cargo consists of Cotton, Pepper and Sandlewood, which first two Articles will sell to great Profit. The Caernarvon we have nearly loaded with Old Teas, and have contracted in January last with Beau Khiqua & Sweetia for 250 Piculs of Raw Silk @ 187 Tales of the 12 Skain sort. The Dutch are obliged to wait till next Month for the arrivall of their Director before they Contract for Teas, they have contracted for wrought Silks and about 100 Piculs of Raw Silk with Chihunqua @ 230 Ta^s And the Sweedes have offered 10 Tales for Bohea Teas which the Merchants will not accept of, therefore they have determined to wait in Expectation, that all the Ships Expected, will not Arrive. I rejoice greatly that there is so good an appearance of your doing your Business, Your Success will be of the greatest Consequence, particularly it must be a grand Coup upon the Mandarines and Merchants here, and I hope will prevent them entering into any Schem against the Cause for the future. I am very sorry Raw Silk is likely to be so very dear, which indeed, I have been long afraid of, and unless it should fall more, than there is Reason to Apprehend it will I fear it will turn out to no advantage in England: The only thing in it's favor is the Possibility of there being little or none from Bengall. In June a Spanish Ship Arrived from Manilla with about 200,000 Dollars, and the Spaniards through the means of Paun Khequa, have sent up a large sum of Money to Purchase Nankeen, wrought and Raw Silk: and the 14th Instant we received news of a Spanish Sloop being Arrived with a large sum for the same purpose. I don't recollect any thing more worthy your Notice, and am Gentlemen

Your most Obed^t Hum^{bl}e Serv^t

THO^s LOCKWOOD.

Canton, Sept^r 14th 1757.

GENTLEMEN,

Your Letters of the 1st were this day received: We are extremely Glad to find you have Transacted your Business so much better than the Reports which prevailed here, gave us Room, to imagine you would, As

you Mention you hope to dispatch your Ship, in the next Month, we take the Liberty of making the following proposal to you, upon presumption that the Onslow's Rout, will be the same as that of the Ships from this Port Namely. That you would order the Onslow to call at Macao, with a View of Accompanying the Caernarvon, who is now almost ready to be dispatched, but is detained in order to sail with the Royall Duke: if the Onslow reached Macao before the Royal Duke is ready, she and the Caernarvon might proceed together, if the Royal Duke is ready, the three Ships might depart at the same time: and should any unforeseen accident prevent your sailing from Limpo, soon enough to join the Two Ships at Macao, the Onslow might then Accompany the latter [later] Ships, Sandwich and Triton. In either event we think the Ships Sailing in Company must be of great advantage: it is easy to imagine the distress a Ship may be in, and from which she might be relieved, had she another with her and yet perish being alone. If you should approve of our proposal, we imagine it will be proper to order your Captⁿ to proceed for Macao, and not to give him his Secret orders, when you dispatch him from Limpo we beg leave to offer that he should be positively enjoined not to open the packet containing them till after he has been Three days Sailed from Macao: We are with much regard

Gentlemen your most obdⁿ & most

H^{ble} Servants

Canton

November 29th 1757.

THO^s LIELL

THO^s LOCKWOOD

HENRY REVEL.

The season 1758 was noteworthy as being the first in which one Council had been appointed to have charge of all the ships and all the transactions of the Company at Canton. This Council was constituted as follows:

Henry Palmer, President.

John Burrow.

George Mandeville.

Thomas Lockwood.

Robert Mackett.

Alexander Hume.

William Mackenzie.

Joseph Harrington.

Francis Wood.

James Flint.

Mr. Lockwood, who was in Canton now for the third year,¹ was ill in Macao when the first of his colleagues arrived, and took the oath on August 6th. Messrs. Lockwood &c^a were to be the 'Residents for the Year 1759'. Messrs. Palmer, Burrow, and Wood arrived on July 27th, and found that

Mr. Liell [had] left behind Him Messrs. H. Revell, M. Horner & R. Harrison to pack the Teas contracted for Messrs. Thompson & Walker & those purchased with the surplus Stock.

¹ Cf. *antea*, p. 45.

To these sitting supercargoes Mr. Palmer and his colleagues applied for particulars of their trading during the previous year, at the same time informing them of their status:

We hereby inform you the Hon^{ble} Comp^y have thought proper to put their Affairs at Canton upon a new footing and order'd them to be managed by a President & Council consisting of Messrs. Palmer & c^a who are to take Charge of all the Ships this Year, the Bombay Ship, and all Casuals that may arrive for the Management of which no Supra Cargoes have been named, or appointed by the Court of Directors, and we do apprehend of all other Concerns of which there may happen to be no regular appointment, our opinion being found'd on the following Paragraphs of our Instructions (52 & 121) Copy of which you have enclosed for your further Information.

The commanders of the two ships then in port, the *Hawk* from Bombay and the *Osterley*, were also written to, and they were in particular enjoined to instruct their sailors that they should respect the neutrality of the port, and have no quarrel with the French.

Messrs. Revell, &c^a, accepted the authority of the Council and informed them that the *Hawk* had brought a stock from Bombay and Tellicherry of cotton, pepper, sandalwood, and foreign silver, to make a total of £40,000; and that they had bought winter teas for the commissions of Messrs. Thompson and Walker:

the Proportion of the 2000 Pec^a Bohea & the 1000 Twankay with the Charges makes the amount of the 10 Chests of Treasure we brought out for each Comm^a:

and they offered to the Council the premises which they had occupied as Company's factory.

There are no satisfactory records of the trading transactions of the season; but winter teas (i.e. teas of the year 1757, left unsold at the close of the season 1757, the best of them bought at a reduced price for shipment in 1758) were bought at Tls. 7 to 7½ per picul for Bohea and Tls. 8½ for Singlo. There is no record of the departure of Mr. Thompson's commission, so it must be assumed that it was in the period August 14th–December 29th, for which there is no Diary. Mr. Walker's commission (Messrs. Mordecai Walker, Nathaniel Garland, Thomas Sandys, and Thomas Smith) left on December 31st, having handed Tls. 44,939, the surplus of the stock per *Tavistock*, to 'Messrs. Lockwood, & c^a, Residents in Canton'. Of the Council Messrs. Palmer, Burrow, Mandeville, and Mackenzie left on January 1,

Trade at Canton

1758]

1759, on which day the *Hawk*, *Prince Henry*, and *Osterley* were dispatched; Messrs. Lockwood, Mackett, and Wood remained as Residents in Canton; and Messrs. Hume, Harrington, and Flint are to be accounted for.

The *Prince Henry* had arrived on August 20th, under orders to proceed to Ningpo; but she was held back at Canton 'from a certainty of being obliged to return'. The *Boscawen* and the *Fox* arrived on October 21st, and sailed on January 30, 1759, with Mr. Hillary Torriano on board as chief supercargo. Except the six ships named, 'the Rest of our Ships have lost their passage'.

XCIX

THE AFTERMATH OF NINGPO, 1759

DURING the season 1759 there was one Council at Canton, with Mr. Thomas Lockwood as its Chief. Mr. Lockwood and Mr. Francis Wood carried over from 1758, and were joined between January 1st and 7th by Mr. James Flint. From June 13th to September 10th Mr. Flint was absent on his mission to the north. On June 17th Mr. Alex. Hume joined the Council, Mr. Mackett, who was his fellow passenger, having died on his way out; and others joined as the ships in which they travelled arrived. On January 6, 1760, Mr. Flint having been carried off for internment, the Diary was signed on its last page by the following:

Tho ^s Lockwood.	Tho ^s Fitzhugh.
Alex. Hume.	Jos. Harrington.
Rich ^d Wood.	Steph ⁿ DeVisme.
Fra ^s Kinnersley.	Francis Wood.
Benj. Torin.	Tho ^s Thomas.

By order of the Directors only one Diary and set of books were kept. The books were opened on December 29, 1758, with the following stock received from Mr. Palmer's Council:

Silver in Treasury	Ta ^s 109,411
Contract with Sweetia (Acc't B. Khiqua's debt)	,, 14,706
House & Warehouses	,, 10,600
Contract Puan Khequa, 2000 Pls. Bohea	,, 20,016
	Ta ^s 154,733

Two days later the surplus stock of the *Tavistock*, Tls. 44,939, was received from Mr. Mordecai Walker, and on January 27th the surplus stock of the *Boscawen* and the *Fox*, Tls. 31, 677, was received from Mr. Hilliary (*sic*) Torriano.

Including seven ships which had lost their passage in 1758, and five out of ten ships which saved their passage in 1759, the supercargoes loaded twelve ships in 1759. Of the ships of 1759 destined for Canton, the *Valentine*, *Suffolk*, *Oxford*, *Denham*, and *Pocock* were detained by the Admiral and 'had joined his Majesty's Squadron cruising off Ceylon and the Admiral informs us [the Council of Fort St. George] that he intends keeping

Them to cruize with Him for the expected french Fleet. He is now off Pondicherry.'

The ships were chartered at 499 tons each, owing to the legal requirement that chaplains must be carried on all ships of 500 tons or over—all except the *Pitt*, of 600 tons. Each of the ships brought some silver; the *Pitt* 35 chests (Tls. 101,059), but the exact amount brought by the others cannot be made out. The Madras authorities wrote by one of the ships:

we now dispatch . . . to you, with the Consignments of Treasure originally made to you from England, we are obliged to detain the five Chests consigned to us by each ship, with orders to forward them to you, being greatly disappointed in our Expectations of Supplys from Europe this Season.

Three of the ships, *Edgecote*, *Walpole*, and *Hector*, brought woollens which realized Tls. 18,240, Tls. 43,741, and Tls. 46,190 respectively; they were sold, ex duty, at the following prices:

Superfine Cloth, per yard	Tls.	2.00
Salisbury " " "		1.35
Long Ells per piece	"	7.50
Camblets " "		40.00

All the ships brought lead, from 35 to 100 tons each, sold at Tls. 2.60–2.80 per picul. Nine of the ships were sent by way of Indian ports, generally Madras; they brought lead from England, and cotton, sandalwood, redwood, and putchuck from India.

For the homeward investment it was at first impossible to contract for raw silk, as the price remained too high; but on March 24th a contract was made for 350 piculs at Tls. 198 per picul, Tls. 140 to be advanced at once and Tls. 45 on the arrival of the first ship. The second advance was paid on April 30th, and the silk was delivered on November 21st, being divided for shipment, 64 bales (total 512 bales) by each of eight ships. Winter teas were bought to the amount of 6,753 piculs, including Bohea 6,579 piculs at an average cost of Tls. 7.76 per picul; and by April 5th, before the arrival of the first ship, contracts were made for

Bohea,	7500 piculs at	Tls. 10.50–11.00, advance	Tls. 7.00
Single,	1400 " "	18.00 " "	12.00
Twankay,	2900 " "	21.00 " "	14.00
Hyson	100 " "	45.00 " "	20.00

The total cost of teas then bought was Tls. 54,971

and of teas and silk contracted for Tls. 239,550
and of chinaware bought " 5,949

In addition contracts were made at the end of May, when the arrival of the *Pitt* had provided further supplies of silver, as follows:

Bohea,	4000 piculs at Tls.	11.50	advance Tls.	7.50
Singlo,	1500 „ „	17.00-19.00	„ „	12.00
Raw silk,	250 „ „	198.00	„ „	140.00
Woven silks, value	Tls.	11,417	„ „	6,000
Chinaware	„ „	3,641	paid in full	

The export of woven silks of yellow and crimson colours being prohibited, the supercargoes on December 29th, only eight days before the dispatch of the last ships, were compelled to unpack all the chests containing silks and remove those of the peccant colours, 70 pieces, invoiced cost Tls. 624. There was also prohibition of the import of cloth of the imperial colour, yellow.

The Government here not accepting of the 6 Pieces of Yellow Cloth designed for the Emperor, we ship'd them on board the Muxadavad bound to Bengal and consign'd them to the Governor and Council.

The private trade of the supercargoes seems limited to a chest or two of Hyson or chinaware for presents; but that of captains and officers of ships is considerable. The following commodities for two captains will serve as examples:

Captain Parson Fenner, *Walpole*:

Tea (probably Hyson), 110 chests (67 lb. each)
 Gumbouge (? gamboge), 3 boxes
 Rhubarb, 15 boxes
 Turmeric, 10 boxes & 50 bags
 Sago, 70 bags
 Rattans, 700 bundles
 Chinaware, 5 chests, 30 half-chests, 2 boxes

Captain John Blewitt, *Britannia*:

Tea, 100 chests
 Chinaware, 60 chests
 Rattans, 500 bundles
 Turmeric, 37 bags
 Sago, 30 bags
 Sticklac, 4 bales

A special arrangement for mutual convenience was made with the commander of the *Pitt*:

In order to expedite the Dispatch of Capt^a Wilson we agreed to make over to Him 10 whole & 90 half Chests of China Ware, cost Ta^s 1459, which he informs us will be sufficient to floor the Ship so that we shall not send any on Board for account of the Company.

In connexion with the protests against the appointment of Securities for the ships the Hong Merchants had pointed out that their position was made more difficult by the obligation imposed on them to procure the clocks, watches, and other curiosities brought to Canton in the private trade, and to pay out of their own pockets the difference between what the importer demanded and what the mandarin was willing to pay. The supercargoes did all they could to discourage this traffic, and as in these years they were conducting a campaign of protest against the appointment of Securities they wrote to all their captains in anticipation of the arrival of their ships (except the *Pitt*) and sent copies of the letters to the supercargoes on board:

We inclosed to the Supra Cargoes expected from Europe the Copy of our Letter wrote the Captains forbidding them to show any Curiosities to Hoppo's People, and requested of Them to do the same.

Captain Wilson of the earlier arrival, the *Pitt*, had anticipated the supercargoes and wrote from Macao, before entering the river

As it has always been my Endeavors to avoid giving Trouble I have not brought either Clock, Watch or Trinket of any Sort, and on Enquiry I have the pleasure to inform you that there is not any Thing of that sort in the Ship.

The *Drake* arrived from Bombay with only half her proper amount of Kintledge, and, as shingle ballast would take up too much cargo space, her commander asked to have a quantity of tutenague put into her.

We determin'd to purchase forty Tons of Tutenague which by the last Price Current from England will turn to good account, if we can procure it about 5 Tales 卩 Pecul.

For the forty tons (672 piculs) they paid Tls. 3,360 (Tls. 5 a picul).

Commission was drawn by the supercargoes for the goods from India at 5 卩 Cent. on the price realized, but no other particulars are given. There is also one reference, without explanation, to hongage on December 31, 1759:

We settled the four 卩 Cent Charges and Hongage on the following Teas received of Shingyquan, and gave him Credit viz^t

On 1018 Peculs of Twankay and Skin,	Ta ^s 1047
On 698 „ of Hyson	1265
	Ta ^s 2312

Truck was concealed as much as possible, but occasionally there are glimpses of it in the records:

Feb. 9. Chetqua offering us three Tales for the Lead made over by Mr. Torriano upon condition we would take China Ware to the amount, and not being able to dispose of it on more advantageous terms to any other Merchant. The Price being at present actually no more than Ta^s 2.9 the Duties paid, we determined to accept of his offer.

May 2. We sold him [Chetqua] the Lead received 卞 Pitt weighing Peculs 1677 at 3 Tales 卞 Pecul amounting to Tales 5031 and Agreed to take in Exchange for it China Ware and about 150 Peculs of old Singlo Tea at 8 Tales 卞 Pecul which we did not buy before because we were afraid of the Damps in the South West Monsoon. This will now be avoided by immediately sending it home.

During the rest of this season lead was sold generally at Tls. 2.6 卞 picul for nominal cash.

In this year there are indications of at least two French ships, two Danish, and two Dutch at Whampoa. On August 12th the supercargoes record, at a time when they had bought or contracted for the greater part of their investment at low prices:

The unexpected arrival of so many Ships this Season will undoubtedly occasion a prodigious Scarcity of the several Sorts of Teas, and we are very apprehensive should all arrive that are expected, some of them must stay the year round. The Danes have given for the greatest Part of the Bohea they have purchased Ta^s 16 and advanced Ta^s 10 卞 Pecul money, The French have bought at 16 Ta^s 卞 Pecul and have also advanced money, and now no Body will engage with Them for any Quantity at Ta^s 17 卞 Pecul and the Dutch as yet have not contracted.

The receipt on July 21st of news 'of two French Ships being arrived to the Eastward of the Ladrone' caused much alarm at Canton; and the supercargoes, not knowing if they were heavily armed merchantmen, or privateers, or even royal frigates, sent an urgent request to two 'private English' at Macao, Mr. Thomas Lockhart and Mr. George Smith,¹ begging them to send a native boat to give warning to any English ship arriving on the coast. The Frenchmen were merchant ships, armed one with forty, the other with thirty-six guns, greatly daring to come in this time of war, and their supercargoes arrived in Canton on July 28th. With this competition, prices went up, and on August 21st the English supercargoes paid Tls. 24 卞 Picul for 2,700 chests of Twankay and Tls. 45 for 1,300 chests of Hyson.

¹ Cf. vol. ii, *passim*.

There is one reference to the commodore in the records, without explanation:

We sent Captain Fisher [of the *Drake*] the Copy of the Company's Regulations of Salutes and desired Him as Commodore of the Road to make Them known to the Rest of the Captains.

There is also reference to a Respondentia bond:

Captain Wilson inform'd us he wanted 1800 Spanish Dollars for the use of the Ship Pitt, we accordingly paid him Ta^s 1296 or 1800 Spanish Dollars at 7^s/6 $\frac{3}{4}$ Dollar are £ Stg. 675 for which he has given us his Respondentia Bill on the Owners of the Ship Pitt payable to the Hon^{ble} Company.

The Governor and Council of Fort St. George sent by the *Winchelsea* arriving June 17th a full account of the siege to which 'Mr. Lally' had subjected them, and one paragraph was of special interest to the Canton Council, referring to the impressment of sailors.

We are sorry to find that the Companys Ships of last season are likely to be so much distress'd by the want of the men who were taken out of them for the Service of his Majestys Squadron, it was done by the Admirals own authority, and it is not in our Power to prevent it.

The first general Council, Mr. Palmer's, recognized the advantage of retaining the same premises as the Company's factory from year to year, and advanced the sum of Tls. 10,600 to secure those in their occupation, when the owner became involved in money difficulties; and the mortgage to secure this sum was included in the assets taken over by Mr. Lockwood on December 29, 1758. Four days later this money was repaid; the decision for repayment was ascribed to Mr. Palmer, but it is not clear whether the initiative was taken by him, or by Mr. Lockwood, or by the Chinese merchant Chowqua:

Jan'y 2. We received of Chowqua Tales 10,600 the Mortgage on Beau Khiquas House & Warehouses according to the determination of Messrs Palmer & Council to relinquish it.

What premises were occupied by Mr. Lockwood's Council, or what rent they paid, is not recorded; but

July 10. We agreed to take Puan Kheguas House for the Gentleman expected from Europe and to give Him Eight hundred Tales for the Season.

Sept. 5. We finding the House we have hired of Puan Khequa by no means large enough with our own for the Quantity of Goods we must consequently have continually in our Factories for such a Number of

Ships, and having an opportunity of getting rid of said House, We offered Swequa Ta^s 1100 for His, which is very large, and extremely comodious for a large Quantity of Goods. He long persisted in having Dollars 2000, and finding we could not bring him lower than 1300 Tales we agreed to give him the same. This in the end is more saving than hiring a third Factory which we must otherwise have done.

Nov. 3. Teunqua Son to Tehanqua the late Owner of Yee-ho Hong came with Tinqa and paid off the Mortgage the Hon^{ble} Company had on the said Hong amounting to Ta^s 3000. In consideration of the several Repairs we have made they agreed to let us live in it until the Chinese New Year, and to continue in it after that Expiration, for one Year longer at the Rent of six hundred Tales 卅 Annum, they being at no charge for Repairs. We then delivered up Tehanqua's Assignment, the Namhoyens Certificate of the Assignment, The Writing or Deeds of Yee-ho Hong, and to Mr. Flint his acknowledgement that the Assignment which was made in his name was for the Company.

The ship *Pitt* arrived from Fort St. George April 6th, having made her passage at a time when the North-east monsoon had made it impossible for the ships of that time to make way northwards the length of the China Sea; and Captain Wilson wrote at once to the supercargoes offering to push matters in refitting his ship, so that she might be ready for dispatch by the end of May, by which time the change of monsoon would make it impossible to sail southwards through the China Sea.

It will be too late for us to attempt a Passage through the China Seas at that Season but doubt not of making a much quicker and easier Passage the Way we came. . . . Our Rout¹ was from Batavia along the North Coast of Java to Madura from thence to the Celebes passing Zalayer [Salayer] to Bocton [Buton] through those Streights then between Boera [Buru, Bouru] and the Hullahs [Xulla Is., Sula Is.] on to the Coast of New Guinea, passing through a Streights (*sic*) which we call'd, after the Ship's Name,² which brought us into the Pacifick Ocean, We ran to the Eastward of all the Philipines and passing between Luconia [Luzon] and Formosa made the Coast of China to the NE of the Lima Islands [south of Hongkong].

In her passage from Madras the *Pitt* was accompanied as tender by a two-masted snow, the *Success*, which was required to aid in piloting the ship through uncharted waters. The supercargoes having expressed a wish to buy her, Captain Wilson gave the following particulars:

Her Burthen is about 70 Tons built at Mauritius of Teak, is very strong and well found sails well for a small Vessel has cost me first and last three hundred and twenty seven Pounds, has been hitherto navigated

¹ Cf. map, vol. i, p. 1.

² Cf. vol. ii, p. 349.

by one of our Midshipmen and twelve of our People, should you want her for the Companys Service I would endeavour to fit her accordingly and get one of my officers and proper People to go in Her.

The supercargoes tried to obtain a remission of her measurage and present, but without success; and they therefore kept her outside the river, and ordinarily away from Macao, keeping her at Taipa instead. With Mr. Flint on board she sailed for the north on June 13th. The only existing record of her voyage is Mr. Flint's journal, printed in vol. I, p. 301. Mr. Flint returned overland with the High Commissioner, leaving the *Success* at Tientsin on July 29th without orders; he arrived at Canton on September 10th, but the snow was not again heard of. The only later references in the records are the following:

Nov. 25. We beg'd to know if he [the Hoppo] could give us any Information of the little vessel we sent to Tienting He said he knew nothing of Her, But that we must not think of ever sending there again. We reply'd we hoped we should have no Occasion for it.

Dec. 2. A Junk arrived from Tienting by her we have the disagreeable News of the *Success Snow* having sailed from thence above three Months since.

The Governor of Madras, Mr. George Pigot, also sent the Company's schooner *Cuddalore* to survey for dangers existing on the Eastern Passage, the route taken by the *Pitt*. Mr. A. Dalrymple reported her arrival at Macao on July 3rd, and the supercargoes made repeated attempts to obtain for her exemption from measurage; but their efforts were in vain, and the schooner was kept outside the river.

The supercargoes had always had difficulty in getting translations of Chinese documents made for them and in having their protests put correctly into Chinese, and their interpreting had been done only through the primitive jargon known as pidgin English. In recent years they had available the services of Mr. Flint, but during the past three seasons he had been away from Canton, and in this season he had attended to Canton affairs only during the early part of the year. On March 29th there is a reference in the Diary to their difficulties:

We this day sent the Linguist with the Chinese Translation of our Memorial to the Tsontou. We could not persuade any Chinese to translate it literally, but as it was much to the same Purport in the most material Articles, we determined to present it.

On July 10th the Viceroy desired a written statement of their grievances, and they sent for the Merchants, whom they found

to be in agreement with much of what they had to represent; they then asked the Merchants to put their memorial into Chinese,

But not being able to persuade any of Them or even the Linguist to write a Chop to present to the Tsontou we were reduced to the Necessity of determining to inform Him no man durst write the Chop he order'd, but if he would grant us an Audience, we have a young Gentleman who can interpret what we have to communicate to him.

On August 25th, while Mr. Flint was still absent in the north, the Canton Council wrote to Mr. Fitzhugh, &c., the Council destined for Ningpo, that it would seem necessary to send either Mr. Flint or Mr. Bevan to Ningpo:

We cannot at present think of parting with Mr. Bevan upon this Information, which should it not prove true may be of very pernicious Consequence as we shall have no Body to interpret our meaning to this Tigen [Ta-chen, High Commissioner], should we have an Opportunity of seeing Him, and laying our Complaints before Him.

The Merchants had at different times shown great curiosity and had attempted to discover who had acted as scribe in writing the memorial which had been sent to the Emperor, and had always been told that the writer had gone to Macao. On November 5th

We waited on the Tigens, when they told us, a Person who taught Mr. Francis Wood Chinese had confess'd the writing our Petition deliver'd to the Emperor, we told Them he had declared an Untruth, that he knew nothing of the affair, and we had already inform'd Them of the Person that wrote it.

The Canton Council were engaged, through the whole season, in a long-continued dispute with the Chinese authorities. The disputation was opened by a memorial to the Viceroy, stating the grievances from which the Company had suffered for years, and praying for relief from them. The memorial was presented on December 28, 1758; whether presented as his final act by Mr. Palmer, or whether Mr. Lockwood initiated by it his service as Resident Chief, is not clear as the text has not been preserved; but its purport may be gathered from the reply, which was received on January 4, 1759, to the following effect:

1st. That the Prohibition issued out some days since for Foreigners to leave Canton, has been a long and ancient Custom. When there are accounts unsettled and ships expected, we can not but admit of some Persons remaining to finish their Affairs, and yourselves must fix upon

the properest Persons for that purpose. Macao appears to us to be the most convenient place of Residence, from whence you may pass and repass with ease, and you must not look upon it as a certainty your being always permitted to stay here.

2nd. The appointing Securities is for the better securing the payment of the Emperor's Customs, it never was permitted you to pay your own Duties. When your Business is compleated, and they are paid, you may demand your Grand Chop, and your Ships will not be detained.

3rd. The former Tsontou with the Hoppo have several times strictly forbid that any Impositions whatsoever should be committed at the Hoppo Houses, and you complain without being able to give proof.

4th. It is the Custom House officers Duty to strictly examine all Imports and Exports, that a just and true account may be taken to prevent the Emperor suffering by clandestinely running in, or out, Goods, or such like unwarrantable actions, which was he not to do he would severely feel my displeasure.

5th. Your being permitted to have frequent Audiences of the Hoppo would be a disgrace to the Office. Our Language is different and you are allow'd Linguists to make Representations.

This reply came from the Governor acting in the absence of the Viceroy, who had gone to Peking; but the supercargoes judged from the tone of the reply, as well as from common repute, that the Governor was inclined to support the Hoppo in all the abuses of his office, and they therefore deferred making any reply. The titular Viceroy returned to his post on March 27th, and after some remarks on the timidity of the Merchants and their disposition to submit tamely to every oppression and extortion, the supercargoes record:

We have employ'd a Person to prepare a Chop to the following purport as near as he can translate it. In reply to the first Article of the Foyens Answer to us We say; We know nothing of the ancient Order for Foreigners to leave Canton, but are certain no such Orders have been issued out for some years, or have we been guilty of any offence to the Government to occasion Them, and if they will take the trouble of perusing the Memorials presented to his Imperial Majesty by the Tsontou of Tchekien they will there find he represents we have great Indulgence at this Port. Was it so we should not now have occasion to seek for redress.

To the 2nd; Our desiring to be securities for our own ships is a request if granted that would not only be greatly favorable to the Emperor, but evidently an advantage to us. We always pay our Duties as soon as our Goods are ship'd off, consequently when our ships are loaded are not indebted for Customs, and most punctually pay every person their due, notwithstanding which we are obliged to wait a considerable time for our Grand Chop. Instances of this have very lately happen'd, even every one of our ships the last season met with a detention which was the loss of

5000 Tales to our Company. Lay Khiqua dying in debt to the Emperor for Customs is another proof of our Request being most reasonably founded, as we have been obliged a second time to pay the Duties on Goods we had already paid, by a most arbitrary Tax laid on all Teas bought by Foreigners. We need not expatiate on what must appear on the least reflection to be so great an imposition, and what can't be supported. Had we paid our own Duties to the Hoppo the Merchants could not have been in arrear, and this Tax upon the Trade would not have happened.

To the 3rd Article; We are not unacquainted that the former Tsontou with the Hoppo had issued out Orders to prevent imposition at the Hoppo houses, but we are as certain they have never been comply'd with, and as a proof of it, we ourselves have had several sums extorted from us. It is not our custom to complain, without being able to give proof, and we are ready to do it. Were the Hoppo officers to do their Duty his Imperial Majesty would not suffer by the Rogueries they are daily guilty of, and we should not have reason of Complaint.

To the 4th Article; We are desirous that the Custom House Officers should do their Duty (as we have already mentioned) and we can most positively affirm our Company never has, or ever will use any clandestine Means to defraud his Imperial Majesty of his Customs in the most trifling circumstance.

To the 5th Article; The not being permitted to have frequent audiences of the Hoppo is a new prohibition and an innovation on the ancient Articles agreed upon between the Emperors Magistrates and our Company, as may be seen, they being undoubtedly register'd. We can't dispense with not (*sic*) having permission to see the Hoppo, it would we are well convinced prevent our suffering in numberless abuses inflicted on us, or can we conceive it any disgrace to the Hoppo to hear complaints and render the justice that is due whose office it undoubtedly is to do so.

We doubt not but you will take into consideration these our grievances and that we shall have redress, as we are sensible it is not his imperial Majestys Intention to oppress and distress Foreigners who come from so great a distance to trade with his Subjects, and who annually bring in at least a million of Tales. Our Complaint is founded on the greatest reason, and if you are not pleased to grant us Redress, it will put our Company under the necessity of making applications at Court, for no Trade can support the heavy Impositions we labor under.

The Viceroy replied verbally and briefly, that the Governor had already answered in his name, and that, if the supercargoes gave him any more trouble, he would punish them; but that, if they had any further grievances, they might see the Hoppo and lay them before him. This was on April 5th, and on the 15th they record that they had been trying for five days to see the Hoppo, and once had gone to the Hoppo House, but had not been granted an audience:

We therefore are under the Necessity of appointing a Security [for the *Pitt*] as the Detention of the Ship at this season is of the utmost Consequence. Swetia has engaged to be our Security upon promising Him there are no Curiosities in the Ship.

The supercargoes were trying by all means to evade the appointment of Securities, which formed one of the articles of their complaint, and on June 30th they had the same difficulty with the *Winchelsea* and *Prince of Wales*. The Customs officers had refused to issue a permit for the factory stores until a Security should have been appointed, whereupon the supercargoes had applied for an audience of the Hoppo; this also was refused. Accordingly, on July 5th,

As the Hoppo will not see us we have come to a Resolution to present a Chop to the Tsontou to desire to have no Securities, and to have Permission to see the Hoppo when our Business requires it.

At the same time they wrote to the two commanders that they were not to bring their ships up to Whampoa until further orders. On July 6th the Viceroy and Hoppo jointly issued a mandate repeating the regulations issued in 1754 and 1755; and on July 16th

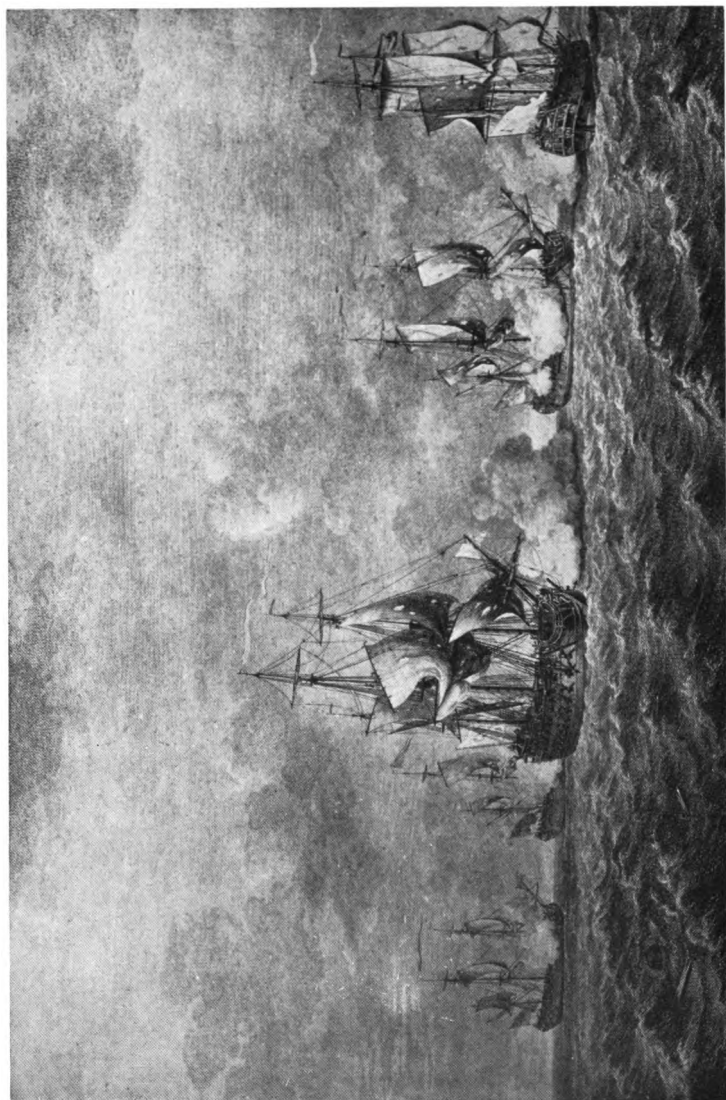
The Tsontou order'd the Hoppo to receive us this afternoon. Upon waiting on Him, we demand'd to have no Securities and to pay our own Duties, repeating the several Reasons we have already mention'd in the Chops we presented to the Tsontou. He said it was impossible he could break through the old Custom but by an order from the Court. We then requested Him to represent it, and That in the meantime as we were convinced there is no Occasion for Securities so we were determined to appoint none, and if they must be, He Himself must do it, or our ships would not come into the River. We further inform'd Him the Merch^{ts} had many times refused being our Securities, which as we had no Occasion for, we would no more lay ourselves open to a Refusal, That the Curiosities they were obliged to buy for the Emperor had so distress'd them, that we were now afraid to trust Them with the smallest sum which the very late Instance of Beau Khiquas Death must confirm. We inform'd Him of the abuses at the Hoppo Houses, the Moneys extorted, from the Linguist and Compradores on the Ships arrival, By the Hoppo Houses between this and Macao, The Hoppo Boats being suffer'd to sell Samsheiw [native spirits] to the Seamen, Shops tolerated to sell Samsheiw to Them at Canton, And the Imposition of his Officers forcing the Security to pay 100 Dollars $\frac{3}{4}$ Ship before they will ship off a Chest of Silks. These Grievances he assured us should be redress'd. We mention'd the 1950 Tales, which he said was paid to the Emperor, and could give us no answer to That. He promised us Audience when we had anything material to say to Him, upon our presenting a Chop. We acquainted Him of the Detention every one of our Ships met with

the last year, by not being able to obtain the grand Chop, and of the extraordinary Expence it was to our Company, which he assured us should not happen again. We also insisted upon having Liberty to Deal with any Merchant we pleased whether Hongist or not, which he made some difficulties about, but after confuting Him in his arguments, he said we might trade with whom we pleased. We took our Leave requesting Him to have some attention to our affairs, and not to suffer us to be treated in the manner we have hitherto been.

Three days later the Hoppo appointed Swetia and Chetqua to be Securities for the two ships, which were thereupon ordered up to Whampoa. It is difficult to account for the complaisance shown by the Hoppo in this interview. It is true that none of his concessions were carried out, then or in later years; but why did he take the trouble to be agreeable to the supercargoes? At this date it was known at Canton that Mr. Flint had gone north since he had arrived at Chusan June 25th, but the enormity of his offence in pushing on to Tientsin and thrusting his memorials on the notice of the Peking authorities, could not then be known. But he had created a disturbance such that it was blazoned abroad to every corner of the Empire, and could not be covered by a decent cloak. Ultimately the Hoppo was made the scapegoat and compelled to suffer for this publicity; and it is probable that he had some premonition of this outcome. The Viceroy was, however, equally complaisant, being resolute only in forbidding trade to Ningpo and in punishing those who were instrumental in furthering it.

Under his instructions Mr. Flint pushed on to Tientsin, where he came into touch with the officials on July 21st, and delivered to them his memorial to the Emperor; and on August 12th, at Canton, the Viceroy, who had held the supercargoes at arm's length, now summoned them to audience.

We waited upon the Tsontou by his appointment when he order'd the Linguist to tell us he forbids Mr. Flint coming any more to Canton, that if he presumed to come here he should heavily feel his Displeasure, and we should otherwise suffer, and that he was surprised Mr. Flint should even attempt the going to Limpo after the Emperors positive Orders to the contrary. We beg'd to acquaint Him it was not an Act of Mr. Flint, but a Compliance of the positive Orders received from the Hon^{ble} Company to go there. He said we must acquaint our Company that there can be no Trade carried on there, and that the Port will not be open to our Ships. He positively insisted on Mr. Flint's taking his Passage to Europe by the first Ship, and to wait at Macao for their Departure, we made use of every Argument to dissuade Him from this peremptory



ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THREE INDIANEN AND TWO FRENCH FRIGATES, 1757

Order, but he continued inflexible. We complained of every Imposition and repeated every Article as we had done the 16th of the last Month to the Hoppo. He promised us Redress in every Thing but the 1950 Tales which he said he could not even inform the Emperor of.

The Viceroy undertook to put an end to all exactions and acts of obstruction, and promised that in those matters the supercargoes should have no further cause of complaint; but at the same time it was denied that there were any exactions or obstructions. He declared that he could not touch the Present of Tls. 1,950, which was the only imposition paid directly by the supercargoes; but the impositions, uncertain and unregulated, on the Hong Merchants were not mentioned; and the system of Security Merchant was left in full force. On one point the Viceroy was categorical and determined: trade at Ningpo was not permitted.

On August 23rd the *Edgecote* and *Chesterfield*, under orders for Ningpo, arrived at Macao, but it was the opinion of the supercargoes that only one ship should go to the port. The *Chesterfield* was ordered to proceed; but the Ningpo authorities turned her back and she returned to Canton, arriving on November 1st. On the same day (August 23rd)

We have received News of a Tigen [Ta-chen, High commissioner] from Peking and a Chuncoon [Tsiang-Kün, Tartar General] from the Province of Fokien being order'd by the Emperor to come with all Expedition to Canton.

Aug. 25. The Chuncoon from the Province of Fokien arrived at four O'clock this morning. He has already taken the Seals from the Hoppo, and delivered them to the Tsontou. . . . This evening some of the Merchants inform'd us Mr. Flint is coming down with the Tigen.

In no long time the Hoppo was cashiered and recalled to Peking in disgrace. A letter was received from Mr. Flint, written on the way, informing the supercargoes that he was coming with the Tigen, who was disposed to do them justice. On September 10th

The Tigen arrived with Mr. Flint. We congratulated the Former on his arrival and took an opportunity of giving a Paper to the Latter to inform Him of our Proceedings in his absence. He remains in the City until the affair is determin'd and no Person is allowed to see Him. We have desir'd Him to insist on the whole Council being call'd into the City on the Tryal. . . .

We petitioned the Tsontou Chuncoon and Tigen to order Mr. Flint to the Factory, and that they will be pleased to grant us an audience to lay before them the many oppressive Grievances we have so long labor'd under.

For the time the Commissioners were most gracious to the supercargoes, but they dealt earnestly with their own countrymen. The Merchants were constantly in the City and were unable to attend to their normal business; Chowqua was individually threatened with severe punishment if he did not discover and disclose the name of the scribe who had written the memorial which had been sent to Peking; and

We are inform'd the Merchants Compradores and Linguists will not declare the Impositions they have labor'd under, notwithstanding the assurances they have given us to tell the Truth. . . . The Quongchefou and Tatung [Tutung] were sent to the Merchants Joss House to see us, where we went all Nations, and desired they would inform the Three Tigens siting upon the European Affairs that we desired to see Them.

Mr. Flint was detained in the City until September 19th. On that day he was examined 'upon Points we had alledged against the Hoppo, which he was told were, in the most material Points, found to be true'; after which he was sent to the factory. On the 21st

The Tsontou issued out a Chop contradicting his Orders for Mr. Flint to leave this Country, and informing us, that the Grievances complained of by us were all found to be true.

The next day the English, French, Swedish, Danish, and Dutch supercargoes went in a body into the City and were admitted to an audience of the three Commissioners. They were told that their complaints had been found to be true, that the Hoppo had been cashiered and would be replaced, and that his subordinates were to be punished; that, when the new Hoppo arrived, they would be allowed to see him at any time, and would find that he would treat them in a satisfactory manner. The Commissioners were especially indignant that ships should have been sent to Ningpo, contrary to the Emperor's express order, whose wish it was that the foreign trade should be restricted to Canton.

On October 8th the English supercargoes were again summoned to an audience of the three Commissioners, when a direct appeal was made to induce them to give up the name of the scribe who had written the memorial to the Emperor; but the supercargoes refused to give the name. The High Commissioner and the Fukien Tsiangkün left Canton on November 15th, their mission accomplished.

On December 6th came the final scene of the drama which had run for five years, and on which the curtain now fell.

This Morning the Tsontou desired to see Mr. Flint, as the Merchants inform'd us to let him know the Emperors Orders relating to our affairs. We desired to accompany Him into the City, which was allowed of. On our coming to the Tsontou's Palace the Merchants proposed our going in one at a Time we told them as it was on the Companys affairs Mr. Flint was call'd we must all be present, and after some altercations we imagined it to be agreed on. Upon hearing Mr. Flint call'd, we proceed'd together. We were (as customary) received by a Mandarin at the first Gate, and proceeded through two Courts with seeming Complaisance from the Officers in waiting. On our coming to the Gate of the inner Court of the Palace our Swords were forced from us we were then hurry'd, even forced, to the Tsontous Presence and there under pretence as we apprehend of making us pay homage after their Custom they endeavor'd to compel us to it, and at last threw us down, when the said Tsontou seeing us resolute, and determined upon no account to submit to their base Humiliations order'd his People to desist. He then gave Orders for Mr. Flint to advance towards Him. He pointed to a writing which he said was the Emperors Edict for Mr. Flint's Banishment to Macao for three years and then to return to England, never more to come into this Country, this he said was to be inflicted on Him for his going to Limpo, when it was his imperial Majestys positive order that no ship should go there. He told us the Man who confess'd to have wrote the Petition in Chinese, which Mr. Flint carry'd with him there and also delivered it at Tienting, was to be beheaded this day for treacherously encouraging us to take this step which Execution was perform'd on a Man quite innocent of what these absolute and villainous Mandarines pleased to call a Crime. The Tsontou told us the Emperor was pleased with the Complaint we laid against the Hoppo which were proved to be true and He to be a very bad man.

There is no record of the date when Mr. Flint was taken to Macao, but it is to be assumed that he was not allowed to leave with his colleagues. On December 9th the French, Danish, Swedish, and Dutch supercargoes met their English colleagues at the English factory and protested against the Viceroy's action, which they declared they would bring to the notice of their respective Companies. On the 13th, at the measuring of two of their ships, the English supercargoes expressed to the Hoppo their dissatisfaction at the Viceroy's act and the punishment meted out to Mr. Flint, who, they said, had only obeyed the orders of the Company in going to Ningpo. The Hoppo declared in reply

That he was acquainted with the Resolutions of the Europeans to inform our respective Courts of the Treatment we received at the Tsontous Palace that we might act therein as we thought proper. That the Banishment of Mr. Flint and the Beheading of Loupinthu was the immediate Order of the Emperor, that he advised us to hush up the

Matter at present and to be contented with compleating our business here with peace and Quietness, and in Reply to our declaring it not to be an act of Mr. Flints, he said we should then esteem it as a great Proof of his imperial Majéstys Lenity that Mr. Flint alone should be singled out on this Occasion and that the rest of us were not included in this Exil. . . . The Hoppo then assured us our Business should meet with no Interruption and ordered the Linguist to acquaint the Merchants that they may send in their Goods and come to us without Fear.

The supercargoes presented a sum of three hundred Tael to the widow and children of Loupingchou, who, though innocent, had suffered because of his connexion with the factory. At the close of the season, in their report to the Court of Directors, the supercargoes state:

We hear Mr. Flint is in close confinement at a Place within a League of Macao, but they will not permit Letters to pass between us.

C

THE ASSOCIATION OF MERCHANTS, 1760

FOR the season 1760 there was a Resident Council of three, Messrs. Thomas Lockwood, Francis Kinnersley, and Francis Wood, who took control of the Company's ships coming from or by way of Indian ports (which were the only ships arriving during the season); Mr. Lockwood returned to England by the last of his ships (dispatched December 27th) and Mr. Kinnersley died on November 14th, leaving Mr. Wood as the only continuing member of the Resident Council. There was also another Council of three, Messrs. Henry Revell, Mann Horner, and Robert John Harrison, who were to have charge of the direct ships from England; they were in Canton August 30th, but there is no record to show how they came, and their Diary has not been preserved. Their ships did not arrive until some date after December 27th, and on October 28th they addressed Mr. Lockwood's Council:

We desire Gentlemen to address ourselves to You, who are the Acting persons on the part of our Masters, and beg you will deliberate on this matter, and favor us with Your Opinions, Whether you think it is our Duty to go Home this Season, or our Duty to stay to receive further Orders.

Mr. Lockwood declined to take the responsibility of giving advice in the matter, and Messrs. Revell &c. decided to stay. The Diary for 1761 opens with the arrival of the *Neptune* off Macao, and adds that on July 8, 1761, she passed the *Princess Augusta*, *Warwick*, and *Caernarvon* homeward bound, and Mr. Blount had advice of the *Norfolk* and *Duke of Richmond* being destined for Canton; it is to be assumed that these five were the ships consigned to Messrs. Revell &c.

Five ships arrived consigned to Messrs. Lockwood &c., four from Indian ports, one from Madras by way of Manila. No more arrived during the calendar year 1760, but on October 30th, after the north-east monsoon was established, the Council wrote to the President in Council at Fort St. George—

We beg leave to observe to you the unfortunate Circumstance of the non arrival of our Ships has laid us under great Difficulties, But in full Expectation of your having given those, destined first to your Settlement a speedy dispatch, and in Case of their being too late for the common Track, positive Orders to proceed Cap. Wilsons Passage.

The three 'Residents in Canton', on February 7th, took over from the Council of seven, which included themselves, but did not include Messrs. Hume, Harrington, and Richard Wood, the following stock:

Sweetia's guarantee of Beau Khiqua's debt	Tls. 10,626
Success Snow (not again heard of)	1,440
Silver: Bombay Rupees	28,176
Spanish Dollars	306,532
Si Hunqua's Balance	7,426
Tea: Bohea Pls. 108, Congo Pls. 106	4,114

Tls. 358,314

The supercargoes received produce from India which was sold for Tls. 71,371, and they received in silver a total of 551,000 dollars = Tls. 396,720, making a total stock during the season of Tls. 826,408. Included in the silver were 128,000 dollars from Batavia, to which place they had been sent from Benkulen just before that port was taken by the French; and 192,000 dollars, the proceeds of a cargo freighted on the *Oxford* from Madras to Manila, which by the charter-party were to be sent by the consignees to Canton, and repaid dollar for dollar by the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, who wrote:

Before advice arrives of the Consignment having been made, we hope to receive ample Supplies from Europe. . . . This is the only expedient we could fall upon to procure a Stock for you, for so great is our present want of Cash, the Remittances from Bengal having fallen very short of our Expectation, and the Presidency of Bombay having contributed but little to our Assistance, that we have lately been obliged to make use of the 32 Chests of Treasure landed from the Shaftesbury, and also to appropriate the Gold Dust sent from Bombay in order to be coined here, and the value forwarded to you in Dollars in part of the Ship Griffins Stock to the defraying our Expences on the Coast, which from the Maintenance of so numerous an Army as we have been under the necessity to support prove Extremely heavy.

On December 22nd Mr. Francis Wood debited himself at the close of the season with stock as follows:

Tea, Bohea, 11,047 piculs	Tls. 134,976
Success Snow	1,440
Contract with Swetia % Beau Khiqua	7,026
Chinaware	6,551
Silver = Bombay Rupees	32,020
Spanish Dollars	203,411

Tls. 385,424

Owing to its high price the export of silk, raw and woven, was prohibited during the year 1760. The chests of tea had now the following net contents:

Bohea,	270	catties	(360 lb.)
Congo,	62½	„	(84 „)
Souchong,	50	„	(67 „)

On April 5th the Hoppo ordered that 'an addition of 5 Tales be made to the official valuation of all Teas which will consequently increase the Duties by three Mace ¾ Pecul'. On May 4th and 5th contracts were made for 29,650 Piculs of tea, at prices of Tls. 12.50 for Bohea, Tls. 19 to 21 for Singlo, and Tls. 23 for Twankay, advances of about four-fifths being made to a total of Tls. 327,750.

The Foregoing Contracts are made on the following Conditions, That if the said Merchants fail in the delivery of the above Contracts, or pack Tea with any other Nation (Except the Sweeds who Wintered here, their proportion) until they have compleated the above obligations, they engage to forfeit two Tales ¾ Pecul on each of the said Teas Contracted for, & if the Teas do not prove of the goodness engaged for, they consent to an adequate abatement being made.

The chinaware for flooring the ships, 300 chests in all, had been ordered 'in the winter'; on September 5th about 60 chests had come, and more were expected daily. The usual warning was sent to the commanders on arrival not to admit 'on board your Ship any Camphire or Musk least the Scent spoil your Tea'.

During this year the French held the whole of the west coast of Sumatra, their force being one ship of 54 guns, one frigate of 18 guns, and 800 soldiers; and they expelled the English from all their stations on that coast. At Benkulen the factors saved all the treasure, sending it to Batavia, a neutral port; but it was found necessary to set the Indiaman *Denham* on fire and sink her, to prevent her falling into the enemy's hands. At Canton there appears to have been no French ship; but Dutch, Swedish, and Danish ships were there.

We hear the Dutch . . . have contracted for 18,000 Peculs of Bohea Tea at 18 Tales ¾ Pecul, and that they have lent the Merchants 120,000 Spanish Dollars at One and a Half [¾ cent.] ¾ month.

The supercargoes continued to rent premises for their factory annually, though they appear to have remained in the same hong.

July 30. We paid Tinqu and Wonsamyee the House Rent for Yee-ho-hong Tales 600.

Aug. 9. We took one of Ton Chetqua's Hong's and agreed to give him for it Tales Six Hundred and fifty.

Dec. 12. Paid for House Rent at Macao and the Rent of Chetqua's Hong at Canton, Tales 794.

The last item leaves Tls. 144 as the rent of premises at Macao.

May 12. We got to Macao, where we found the Senate required our petitioning them for Permission to take Houses, the French having complied with this new form as well as those of every other Nation, we made the proper application, to which they consented.

They had obtained the Hoppo's permit for going down to Macao, and they now found that, under the new regulations,¹ it was necessary to obtain one for returning—

June 14. The Compradore informs us from Puan Khiqua that it is necessary to obtain a Chop of the Tsongtou for our going to Canton, which he expects to have in five or six days, and which is the Reason of the Boats not coming for us.

Not knowing what ships the Company was sending to Ningpo, the supercargoes, impressed by the resoluteness of the Canton authorities, left written orders at Macao giving to the commanders of ships intended for Ningpo orders that they were to come to Whampoa instead. On March 23rd they received from Mr. James Flint the only communication which got through from him.

It is now three Months since our parting, I hope you have recovered of the fright of that day, but for my part I have not had one hours rest with the thoughts of those Fellows, and being shut up in four small Rooms, with Bars before the Doors and Windows so much like a Cage, and locked up at Nights with the beating of four or five Gongs and Bamboos from Seven at Night until Six in the Morning, and two Men sleeping in the Room for fear I should make away with my Self: The Mandarin is very civil, and gives me great comfort of my getting out by the latter end of the year, He made a Representation in my favor to all the great Men, and the Tsongtous answer was very civil, a few days ago the Act of Grace for the benefit of Prisoners came down, and the Mandarin has made a general Representation for me to take the benefit of it, as I am within the Act, and he has desired me to lend him Eight Hundred Tales, I would have you give it Him, but it must be kept a Secret, for if any body should know of it He would be turned out of his Place—You may pay it to the bearer, he has been very good to me, He does not understand any English, You will get it ready for him, put up in small parcels to take away as soon as he comes, for he will come the next day for it, and you must send your China Servant out of the way, that he may not see Him. A few days ago I sent Atchan to you for

¹ Cf. *postea*, p. 89.

150 Dollars and some things, as I am to have a Cook and to buy my own Provisions. It was a long time before I could get Atchan to come to me, to get me some things from Macao, The Mandarin heard of it and was very angry with him, and would have kept him ten or twelve days in the Guard room if I had not spoke for him, but when he came to me, He told me they had put a Chain about his Neck. I would have you order him, or for his people to send me any things that I should send for, and to get my Linnen washed better at Macao—I have heard that you are upon some Scheme in which I hope you will succeed, and am

Gentlemen

Your most Obedt Humble Servt

15 March 1760

JAMES FLINT

P.S. Since writing the inclosed I have had more Liberty, as to going about the House, and the two Men taken out of the Room, I hope you will not show the least backwardness in letting the old Man have the thing that I have promised, for I shall suffer for it if it is not fulfil'd—You will tell the Doctor that the Sinews of my Heels is drawing up, so that I am obliged to wear large shoes, and from the lower part of my Heels three or four Inches upwards, there is a Streak of red, and hurts me much when I stretch my Leg out, and should be glad if he would send me something for it—You must not even let Toyqua know any thing of this affair, nor the least Person.

It is satisfactory to know, from the record, that when the Person came the next day, he received the eight hundred Tales which had been promised, whereby Mr. Flint's life was undoubtedly made easier; but no further communication was received in 1760.

The supercargoes received a shock in the spring of 1760 from a series of regulations, issued by order of the Emperor, by which life in the factories was to be governed in future. The full text will be found at the close of this chapter; ¹ the translation was apparently made by a French hand, as indicated by the romanization, and the five regulations may be summarized as follows:

1st. When the lading of the ships is completed, the supercargoes must no longer remain at Canton, but must return to their own country: as there is a regular time for the ships, depending on the monsoon, there will be a fixed time for the supercargoes: if any business is unfinished or accounts unsettled, they may go to Macao and remain there, and not suffer the inconvenience of having to go to Europe.

2nd. Hereafter the Hong Merchants are to be held responsible for the wrong doing of the foreigners to whom they let apartments in the hong to serve as factories.

3rd. The borrowing by Chinese of money which the foreigners have to lend, is strictly prohibited on penalty of the confiscation of the property

¹ Appendix AK.

of the borrowers: the Hong Merchants must settle all their accounts before the return of the ship [or the ships]: and hereafter none but 'established' [? licensed] Linguists and Compradores may enter the foreigners' service, and native servants shall not be employed.

4th. The foreigners must not presume to employ couriers to carry letters into the interior, or to adopt that means of ascertaining the prices of commodities: if any communication is to be made, it is for the officials to judge of its necessity or advisability.

5th. To control the riotous crews of the foreign ships anchored at Whampoa and to maintain order among them, there has hitherto been a regiment of soldiers stationed in the vicinity: this should be supplemented by a battalion: and there should be an additional battalion drawn from the Viceroy's brigade: and the whole force must be constantly on duty until the departure of the ships.

These regulations were received on April 12th, and on the 20th the Viceroy sent the Namhoi Hien to instruct the Merchants and Linguists to inform the foreigners (except the Swedes, who still had a ship at Whampoa) that within five days they must all go down to Macao, and there await the arrival of their ships. The supercargoes pleaded the necessity of making some provision for the safe custody of their treasure; but on the 26th

This Even^g the Linguists were put in Chains under pretence of the Europeans not complying with the Orders to them to go to Macao, notwithstanding several persons have applied for their Chops which are not yet procured. We sent for the Merchants and repeated what we had told them every day since the Order came out, that we were ready to comply with the Orders of his Imperial Majesty, so soon as we could put the Companys Treasure in Safety.

After having settled their contracts for tea, and having paid out in cash Tls. 327,750 as advances under the contracts, the English supercargoes went down to Macao on May 10th; and, wishing to return on June 14th, they found it necessary to obtain a further permit for the purpose, and they were only able to leave Macao on June 25th.

Mr. Lockwood's Council took charge on February 7th, and May was in before they were able to make their contracts. On March 24th they record—

We have not as yet been able to make any Contracts, the Merchants are very backward in coming to us, and we have been desirous to keep off as long as Possible to prevent the destructive Association they have been some Months aiming at. We hope if they are not strongly patronized by the Superior Mandarines, they can't much longer persist in their proposed Schemes. . . . But as we have had influence enough with the

Sweeds to persuade them also to defer contracting for some time, we flatter ourselves we shall be able to bring them to better terms.

The supercargoes worked to divide the Merchants, and a month later they informed Chetqua that if any two or three of them would contract separately and

so put an end to the pernicious Association they have been attempting we would throw the greatest part of our Business into their hands. He said he was far from encouraging it, and seemed well inclined to defeat the Scheme, he promised to sound Sweetia upon it.

On May 1st they record that the Merchants are still holding out and refusing to take individual contracts, and that the Swedes are in the same situation as themselves and have not yet done any business; and on the 2nd that the Merchants had given way on a minor point, as to the price to be paid for exceedings, 'they finding we were determined not to pay so great a price for the Teas'; but on the 4th

We finding upon Conversing with the other Merchants, that we cannot possibly expect to engage upon more favourable terms than proposed by Puan Khiqua, and the Season being far advanced we sent for the Merchants (one by one) and entered into Contracts with them:

on May 4th with Puan Khiqua, Tinqa, and Wonsamye; on the 5th with Chetqua, Sweetia, Si Hunqua, Teunqua, Yongtiye, Geequa, and Fotia; and on the 6th with Chowqua; as recorded above, the price of each kind of tea being the same for all the Merchants. On July 23rd we are reminded that this 'pernicious Association' was still alive and was to be resisted at all costs, and that, when the ships of the other nations should arrive, they would all take united action.

Three of the English Company's ships had arrived in June, but in pursuance of their policy of resistance the supercargoes had not begun to discharge their inward cargoes from Indian ports: and on August 2nd the Hoppo sent a peremptory mandate to the Merchants, requiring them to inform him without delay why the ships had not begun to unload. On August 4th

The Merchants came to our House, and informed us of the Chop the Hoppo had sent. . . . They asked us if we would trade with them as a Company, to which we replied No, that we were not at Liberty to do it from our Company . . . we must again repeat we would not do it, until they would treat with us Separately.

On August 9th the Merchants went to see the Hoppo and informed him of this answer.

By what we can learn he seemed disposed, that the said Merchants

should deal with us Separately as formerly and said he would inform the Tsongtou of it. We are in great hopes, we are now Oversetting this pernicious Association, which we have persuaded the principal Merchants, and the Majority of them to be against, but they are so fearfull of their Mandarinens, that they will even suffer the greatest of Evils, rather than run the Risque of Obtaining the Displeasure of these great Men, who keep them under inconceivable Subjection.

On August 17th the Hoppo again returned to the charge and demanded why the ships had not begun to unload; he added that the new procedure had been approved by the Emperor, and that conformity was imperative; and that the Association was designed to make the Merchants jointly answerable for every trouble, great or small, that the Europeans might occasion. The Merchants, collectively and individually, further assured the supercargoes

that it would be impossible to Overset the Company [Association] established by the Mandarinens to take care of the Country, as they term'd it, they also told us we may do our business with whomsoever we please, but that whoever does it, It will be for Account of the Company, and the Person is to be allowed 5 ½ Cent for his particular trouble.

On August 21st the supercargoes sent to the Viceroy a petition of which the essential part was as follows:

We beg leave humbly to represent to your Excellency that the Dutch Supra Cargoes having called together the Merchants, they declared that though we might trade with whomsoever we chose, yet that the Goods so bought were to be carried to their general Acc^t as they were a Company for buying all Goods brought by the Europeans, and for selling all such Goods as they should carry from hence. The Merchants have [in] several former years attempted to Combine together, and to prevent our having a free trade, but upon our Representations of the Grievance we have always been so happy as to obtain the Redress we sought for. We hope to meet with the same Clemency from your Excellency, and that the Merchants may Trade each for his Seperate and distinct Account As in reality to dealing with any one of a Company is the same as having only one Merchant at the Port of Canton, which in the end must greatly deminish his Imperial Majestys Customs, and ruin the European Trade, which is carried on with great Risque and Danger at this Distance.

The rest of the petition was an appeal for the Viceroy's indulgence and protection against oppression, and the expression of confidence in his benevolent disposition. This confidence was promptly dispelled by the Viceroy's reply, which was received on August 24th:

The Europe Ships on their arrival have always a Security, with whom, and with the other Merchants, you always do your Business. Although

the Merchants tell you they are formed into a Company, it matters not to the Europeans whether they are or not. If the Merchants offer a low price for your Goods or demand high prices for theirs, upon our being acquainted with it, we will give all possible redress, and if you can't get a tolerable profit upon your Goods, you must not in future bring any, as it is of very small Consequence to this Country. For the Ships which are arrived you may do your Business with any of the Hongists you please, and we have particularly ordered them to comply punctually with their Contracts, in order that the Europeans may return to their own Country in proper time, And that if you behave quietly and properly, you shall always meet with our favor and Protection.

The supercargoes had given up the contest. On August 23rd they notified the Hoppo that he might proceed to measure the ships, which had arrived between June 6th and 15th; and on receiving the Viceroy's reply, they record:

In Consequence of the above Chop (by which it is too evident the Merchants are supported by the chief Magistrates) and of the Dutch acquainting us they should proceed to do business, we agreed to send for the Merchants seperately and offer our several Cargoes to sale.

The supercargoes confessed defeat, and a basis, peculiarly Chinese, was established for the system by which the foreign trade was regulated for seventy-five years after this date, and even for eight years further, until a new basis, more equitable in every way, was established by the treaty of Nanking, 1842. The opinion at the time of the men on the spot is expressed in the letters of advice, both dated October 30, 1760, of the supercargoes to the President and Council of Bombay and of Fort St. George:

The Encroachments of the Mandarines and Merchants are become so Burthensome that unless the several Companys Trading here should fall on some Scheme to defeat their projects, we are very doubtfull the Terms will in a few Years be too exorbitant and too disadvantageous to continue the Sending Ships. The Merchants have even now form'd themselves into an Association of Ten, and these (and no others) with the Sanction of the Magistrates, are to Trade with the Europeans, We had fortunately done our Business chiefly before Monopoly commenced, but the Foreigners have severely felt the Effects of it. The Violence the Magistrates committed the last Year on Mr. Flint, is a recent Proof that neither our persons nor the properties of our Employers can be look'd upon as Safe, until proper Satisfaction be obtained.

APPENDIX AK

REGULATIONS FOR THE CONTROL OF TRADE AT CANTON, 1760

The Merchants separately received a Chop from the Tsongtoui which is said to be published by the Emperors Order in Consequence of the Representation under Him by the above mentioned Magistrate.

The following is a Translation of the Chop ^{wh.} came from Court.

FOU Minister of State and Accounts presents this Memorial in obedience to your Majestys Orders given to the Council called Kiunki, to deliberate on the Memorial of LY Tsongtoui of the Provinces of Canton and Quangsi who proposes some regulations regarding Foreigners.

1st. He represents the Residence of Foreigners at Canton in the Absence of the Ships, and demands that it may be forbid. He says the Foreigners commonly arrive in the Fifth and Sixth Month, and return about the Ninth or Tenth Month, If any of them are under the necessity of staying on their affairs, the Custom formerly was that they should go to Macao, Now many of them under the pretence of their Affairs not being finished live secretly at the Capital, and it is difficult to avoid bad consequences happening from it, which may be the occasion of much trouble. He demands that after they have loaded their Ships they may be ordered to return home at the usual time, and if there be any who have not settled their Affairs with the Hongists, that they are obliged to go [to] Macao, and that their unsold goods be left with the Hongist to sell for them in their Absence, that in the following Monsoon they may return to their respective Kingdoms &c^a.

There is then a certain fixed time for the European Vessells to come and return, The Custom is that none should remain secretly in the Interior parts of this Kingdom. At present because the Merchants have not paid their Debts, and that they have not finished their affairs with them, the Foreign Merchants make this pretence to live at the [provincial] Capital, endeavour to know the prices of Goods, and to buy them at Cheap rates to make a Profit on them. The People of the Country intrigue with them and are guilty of base Tricks. At present the Tsontou demands, that after the Foreign Merchants have finished their affairs, they return to their respective Ships. That they should have no pretence to remain in the Interior parts of the Country,

To have comers & goers occasions irregularities and disorders, w^{ch} are against the good Rules and Orders of the Country. The Merchants or Hongists must settle all their accounts justly by the time of the departure of the Ships, and punctually pay what they are indebted, If any Merchandize or Goods are unsold, the Merchants must among them bring affairs to a Conclusion, and must not prolong their Debts from Year to Year. Both parties must act with Sincerity and fidelity, and not occasion losses, and oblige the Mandarin^{es} to exert their Authority. The Foreign Merchants should return at their usual time, They deliver their Goods to the Hongists to sell for them, If there be any who abuse the Credit given them, and are Guilty of Rogueries, and it should come to the Knowledge of the Mandarin^{es}, they shall be severely Judged according to the laws of the Country, and punished without any Grace.

If the Foreigners should not have finished their Affairs, and they will in the mean time live at Macao, They will in this case do as they Judge convenient to themselves, it is not necessary to oblige them to return to Europe, by which they must suffer great difficulties & Losses.

2nd. He represents the necessity of Ordering the Hongists to watch the Foreigners who live in their Hong^s with the Strictest Attention. The Custom is for Foreigners on their arrival to take apartments in the Hong^s. At present there are Vagabonds who build Handsome houses to allure Strangers for which they receive great Rents, who let them do many bad things, who come and go, occasion trouble, carry on illicit trade, defraud the Customs, and commit several such like disorders. Hereafter none but the approved Hongists must be permitted to lodge, and trade with the Europeans. If the Foreign Merchants commit disorders, and Violate the Laws, and the lower Mandarin^{es} do not prevent it they shall be broke, and rendered incapable of Serving &c^a. The Hongist must carefully watch, and keep in order, the Foreign Merchants who live in their Hong^s. If the appointed Hongists, and the Linguists are in Collusion with them to commit Villanies, The Tsontou demands that hereafter the Guilty should be punished, That they will not be allowed to dispose of the houses at their pleasure, that all abuses be suppressed, and that the Foreign Merchants should not suffer Losses.

3rd. He represents, concerning the money lent by Foreigners, and the Chinese who are in their Service, And He demands that these abuses be forbid. At present numbers of Foreigners lend their Money that remains unemployed in trade, to the Merchants

of this Country, who go into other Provinces to trade, they make Contracts with them, and make use of them for sundry purposes. If the people of this Country do hereafter on any pretence whatsoever take up money of Foreigners, he requires that they should be severely punished. Foreign Merchants are allowed only to sell their Merchandizes they bring with them. And to purchase what they have occasion to carry away, any other Trade has been long since prohibited, they are not permitted to send their Goods into other Provinces for their Accounts, At present there are many Peoples of the Country who trade with the Europeans Capital. It is by such like Intrigues that LIEOU-YA-PIEN has occassioned so much trouble. And this prohibition is of great Consequence to the Country. He demands that the Hongists be obliged to finish all their Accounts, and affairs, before the return of the Ships; If they act contrary to such Orders, if they dont settle their Accounts, and if they are guilty of any Rogueries, that they be severely punished, and that all the Goods also of those who borrow money be Confiscated.

Foreigners also bring with them Servants sufficient for their use, formerly they could only take few of the people of this Country into their Service. Hereafter none but the Established Linguists and Compradores are allowed of, and if any others presume to enter into the Service of the Europeans, the Inferior Mandarines must be acquainted with it, That it be ordered the Linguists take care this Prohibition be strictly observed, and if there be any who Act contrary to it they shall be strictly punished.

4th. He represents that the Foreigners hire people to carry Lett^{rs} into the Country, and demands that this Abuse be totally forbid. There are many Foreigners who to carry on their trade send Peoples into the Province of Nankin, Chet-kiang and others, and even hire Post Horses to inform themselves of the price of Goods, As Hong-shing-y did when the Mandarines sent expresses to Seize the Criminals, the said Criminals received Intelligence before the arrival of their Orders by which means they Evaded them and fled from Justice, LIEOU-SONG-LING of the Tribunal of Mathamaticks has twice given Intelligence that QUE-GAN, KOUENING, FANG-CHEOU-Y and others desired to be called to Court to be employed in the service of the Emperor, and that it was by Lett^{rs} he received from Macao, which gave him information thereof. These Lett^{rs} were brought by Chinese and this is what must for ever be forbid &c^a. Foreigners take Hongs to trade in but under pretence of informing themselves of the price of Goods, they must not hire people to carry Lett^{rs}

or otherwise have such Connections with the Country People; this is an Abuse that must be entirely Abolished. The Tsongtou requires that the said Lett^r carriers be severely punished, that if it is necessary to communicate any affairs, the Report be made to the Mandarines, in Order for them to judge what is requisite to be done. If after these Orders there be any who undertake to carry Letters, that those who are employed in these affairs and the Letter Carriers be severely punished. As to the Foreigners of Macao, if they have any affairs, for the Service of the Emperor, to communicate to the Tribunal of Mathamaticks, the Procurator must give information to the Mandarin called HAY-FANG-TONG-TCHY [the Künming Fu] who will make his report to the Tsongtou, and he will accordingly as he may think proper send the necessary advices to Court, He demands that it should be the Tsongtou to treat on these Affairs.

5th. He represents that some Mandarin of War should be stationed to watch and keep the Foreign Ships in Order. The Foreign Ships enter into the River and anchor at the place called Whampo, each Ship Crew consists of 100 to 200 Men. The Custom has hitherto been for a Mandarin of the Corps called HIE-PIAO 協標 to be there with Soldiers to keep a good watch and prevent Disorders. But this force is not sufficient, He therefore demands that a Reinforcement of a Mandarin called CHEOU-PEI [Show-pei] be added, that every thing be well looked after, and for the support of the said Augmentation, that Eight Tales 卅 Month be taken out of the Receipt of the Customs. That the body of Guards in the Neighbourhood do appoint a Vessell with Soldiers to pass backwards and forwards, and that they keep a strict look out, which is to be continued until the departure of the Ships. The Foreign Ships have a great number of People, many of them are of a wild brutish Nature, and may easily occasion trouble, The Villainous Boat Men connect themselves wth them, w^{ch} occasions continual disturbances. The Tsontou desires besides the Mandarines who according to the antient Custom are on Duty, another be appointed with the Command of 100 or 200 Men, which will with difficulty be sufficient to keep the Foreigners in Order. There must then be another Mandarin called CHEOU-PEI of the Corps called TOU-PIAO 督標 who must be always on Guard, prevent Disorders, and from time to time give all necessary Intelligence for the Expence and Charges of those on Duty according to the Ancient Custom Eight Tales 卅 Month is allowed. To defray the Expence of this Reinforcement Eight Tales must also be allowed, and the whole force must be on Duty until the Departure of the

Ships, and if they do not diligently do their Duty, the Superior Mandarines must break the Inferior Ones.

We have examined and Deliberated on all of Above mentioned Articles, and judge it necessary they be complied with, for which purpose we present this Memorial to your Majesty, Humbly imploring your most gracious Light, and through your profound Penetration to receive your Instructions, that your Orders may be communicated to the Tribunal, to be by them transmitted to the Tsongtou, that he may conform thereto, and Effectually see them observed.

The Emperors answer was, that it be done according to their Request.

CI

CAPTAIN SKOTTOWE'S MISSION, 1761

OF the Resident Council appointed to hold over from 1759 to 1760 and from 1760 to 1761, Mr. Thomas Lockwood returned to England, Mr. Francis Kinnersley had died, and Mr. Francis Wood was found by Mr. Samuel Blount on his arrival at Canton on July 10, 1761, to be prostrated by illness and out of his mind. Mr. John Searle had arrived with the ships *Norfolk* and *Duke of Richmond* on June 9th, but was too junior to venture to take charge; Mr. Blount had no such hesitation, and at once took control of the work that the Council had to do. Mr. Blount signs the records alone until August 9th, when he was joined by others, and the Council was constituted:

Henry Palmer.

Samuel Blount.

Hillary Torriano.

Thomas Smith.

On September 17th the *Worcester* arrived with Messrs. Mandeville, Mackenzie, and Sandys; and on October 5th the *Prince George* with Messrs. Garland, Rous, and White. From October 12th the records are signed by

Henry Palmer.

Samuel Blount.

G. Mandeville.

On December 15th the first fleet of Indiamen was dispatched—six ships, to which were added for mutual protection two ships which had sailed from Whampoa in July, but had been compelled to put back for repairs; after this date the records were signed by

Samuel Blount.

Nathaniel Garland.

Thomas Smith.

William Rous.

No communication was received during the season from Mr. Flint, but indirectly it was heard that he was alive and was well. The last two ships, *Worcester* and *Prince George*, were dispatched on January 24, 1762.

There is no record of the amount of the assets taken over by

Mr. Blount when he assumed charge in July. During the season, as far as can be ascertained, the following stock was received and realized:

Silver dollars, 75 chests, 300,000 dollars	.	.	Tls. 216,000
Woollens, from England	.	.	„ 179,444
Lead	„	„	„ 14,114
Indian produce	.	.	„ 46,072
Tls. 455,630			

At the end of the season the books were balanced with the following assets:

Contract with Sweetia, acct. B. Quiqua	.	.	Tls. 7,026
President & Council of Madras	.	.	3,999
Presents per <i>Royal George</i>	.	.	1,051
Imports unsold: woollens	.	.	143,694
Indian produce	.	.	2,706
Silver: dollars	.	.	157,902
rupees	.	.	35,482
Tls. 351,860			

The woollens of the previous season had arrived only early in the spring of 1761, and when those of the current season arrived in June and July the Merchants protested that two years' supplies had been received in one year, and they were able to offer no more than the following prices:

Cloth: 1st quality,	Tls. 1·85	per yard
2nd „	„ 1·25	„
Worsters	„ 0·91	per piece
Long Ells	„ 6·80	„
Camblets	„ 30·00	„

to be paid for in money, half in 160 days, half in 180 days, the purchaser, as always, paying all duties. When later arrivals came in, the market was found to be overstocked, and the supply, invoiced at Tls. 143,694, was held over until next season.

The prohibition of the export of silk appears to have continued. Mr. Blount found no winter teas provided for him, and he was informed that his predecessors had wished to place contracts for 16,000 piculs of Bohea and 10,200 piculs of Singlo, with the result that the Merchants, elated by the large quantity, demanded prices that were beyond all reason. This was recorded in July, and as late as October all the contracts had not been made. First and last the English Company had to pay Tls. 17·50 to 18·00 per picul for Bohea; but the supercargoes reported that the Dutch paid Tls. 18·50 to 19·00, the Swedes

Tls. 18-00 to 18-50, and the Danes Tls. 19-30 per picul for their Bohea, 'notwithstanding that they made much larger advances of Money than we have'. The high prices they attributed to the formation of the Association or Cong-hong, which was supported by the Canton Government. The supercargoes contracted for 3,000 pieces of nankeen cloth at Tls. 0-34 per piece; and they procured for St. Helena stores invoiced at Tls. 2,203.

Nine ships arrived for the English Company between June 9th and October 21st, their transactions thus falling into the season 1761; in addition two ships, *Princess Augusta* and *Caernarvon*, which were dispatched on July 8th by Messrs. Revell &c., and had sailed by Pitt's Passage, put back dismasted to Macao in the middle of October, and having refitted sailed again with the first fleet on December 15th. There were two Dutch ships, one Danish and one Swedish at Whampoa; and one Swedish ship was wrecked on the Pratas on her way to Canton. Three French ships of war, one of sixty-four guns and two frigates, were reported at the end of October to be cruising in the Strait of Sunda in order to waylay the homeward-bound Canton ships.

The only record which has yet been found of a regular payment to the Linguist, other than that made to Mr. Flint in his earlier days,¹ is one of December 23rd:

Payd Sinqua the Linguist on Account of Port Charges,			
His Present of 50 Tales	for 7 Ships	Ts.	350
Do	to his Deputy 25 Tales	Do	175

And again to the same Sinqua on January 18th:

Gratuity to the Linguist for 2 Ships,		Ts.	100
Do.	to his Servants	„	50

Heretofore the factory has been dependent for medical attention on the surgeons of the Company's ships in port; but in the past few years there has been a nucleus Council resident continually, even when no ship was in port. Thomas Arnot, who has been resident surgeon for three years (the amount of his salary not being recorded), applied to have certain expenses refunded to him:

For Medicines for the Factory, Dec. 1758 to Dec. 1761, Ta ^s 160						
Instruments	.	.	.	.	.	30
Servants Wages	.	.	.	.	.	60
						Ta ^s 250

¹ Cf. vol. i, p. 287.

The claim was admitted and paid. In the factory not every hour was devoted to work, and the supercargoes occasionally relaxed the bow. One such occasion was the celebration of the King's Accession:

Oct. 31. This day we set apart for the observation of his Majestys Accession and invit'd all the foreigners except the french, the Comm^{rs} of ours & their Ships & the China Merch^{ts}

Nov. 9. The Compradore brought us an Account of the Expence of the Entertainment given to about 60 Gentlemen on his Majestys Accession Viz^t

For provisions & Utensils for y ^e Table, Ta ^s	85.
For Ornaments for the Hall & Veranda	
Lanterns Commediants & Fireworks	
on the Water	143
For Wine Clarret 8 Doz ^a	69
Tales	297

In this season we have the first mention of bills of exchange drawn by the supercargoes on the Court of Directors in London.¹ The first bill so drawn was on November 25, 1761, recorded in the following terms:

Received of Archibald Murray on Account of Mr. W^m Rogers deceas'd \$ 1567 @ 5/6 P^{ce} amounting to £430. 18. 6 Ster^s brought into Stock for Tales 1128 being the weight of it & gave him first second & third bills of Exchange on the Hon^{ble} Company for the Ster^s amount thereof @ 180 Days sight as by their order so to do.

Subsequent to this up to January 20, 1762, a further sum of 52,708 dollars was received, for which bills of exchange for £14,494 sterling were issued.

In this season we have the first record of a warning given in writing to private English who remained the year round in China without the Company's licence. The following identical letter was sent on September 8th to Captain Robert Jackson, Mr. George Smith, and Mr. John Spencer:

Agreable to our instructions from the Hon^{ble} the East India Company, we hereby inform you that it is their positive orders that no subject of great Britain shall remain in China the Year round without their leave or orders for so doing but that they proceed by the first conveyance to the parts of India from whence they came and also that they have given the necessary orders to their several Presidencies not to suffer any Persons to proceed to Canton with a view of staying any longer than the departure of the Shipping from thence. If however any Person who is

¹ Cf. vol. i, p. 306.

now resident at Canton shall make it appear to us that it is detrimental to his Affairs in going so soon in such case You are allow'd to stay till the next season and no longer on pain of their resentment as the Law shall empower them.

One of the above, Mr. George Smith, remained, more or less continuously, through the next twenty years.

The Association, or Cong-hong, of Merchants engaged Mr. Blount's attention from the early days of his arrival. On July 21st he records:

Before my departure from Bombay, I had heard [that] ten Merchants [who] transacted the whole European business at Canton, had formed themselves into a Company (called the Cong Hong) and by their interest with the late Tsongtoc and present Hoppo, every other Merchant was not only forbid dealing with us, but even entering our Factory, in this unhappy situation I found our trade on my Arrival. In talking on the subject with some of the principals, I had the pleasure to find discontent & anarchy reign'd among them. I pointed out to some of them the injustice of such a Combination to the prejudice of thousands of their Countrymen who were starving, to the Europeans who came here & to many among themselves who wou'd be certain of having the principal part of the English business if each was for himself, which wou'd be more considerable than their present shares amounted to, in the Company many told me, they shou'd be glad our affairs, were upon the old footing, but that they were so bound up (and I found, stood so much in awe of the Mandarines) that they were afraid, they cou'd not dissolve the Company this year. . . . With this blessed variety of Tempers capacities & Principles making only in fact, One Merchant is the business to be transacted this Year. Were they seperated every one might be easily managed, as a body, they are to be feared.

Mr. Blount resolutely refused to treat with the Cong-hong as an Association of Merchants, and persisted in declaring that he would do business only with individuals; and this decision was entirely approved by Messrs. Palmer, Torriano, and Smith on their arrival in August. None the less, when the time came in September to discuss the prices to be paid on the one hand for woollens and on the other for tea, it was found that the prices for tea were extravagantly high and those for woollens depressingly low, even the threat to keep some of the ships over until the next season producing no effect:

From the behaviour of these People, the unhappy situation we are in, it is plainly evinced, they know we cannot buy of others & they are therefore determin'd let there be few or many Ships here to have a high price for their Goods and ours at a low one.

The conclusion of the matter is contained in the season's report to the Court of Directors of December 15th:

The Establishment of the Cong hong or exclusive Company of Chinese Merchants you were fully acquaint'd with by the Ships of last Year & we are sorry to inform you that it still exists, and that we & all the Europeans must suffer so long as it continues, we having undoubt'dly been oblig'd to give higher prices for part of our Cargoe than otherwise we need have done, tho at the same time not so much as other Nations notwithstanding they made much larger advances of Money than we have. . . . The Company being to all appearance under the sanction of the Canton Government tho certainly not by any Edict from the Emperor makes any application appear utterly fruitless for as nothing can be represented to them but by means of these very People who are in combination together whose interest is too much concern'd not to oppose every thing we could say.

In their final report of January 21, 1762, written on the dispatch of the last two ships, the supercargoes state:

The Bohea Teas for these Ships we have bought upon better terms [at and about Tls. 14.30 a picul] than what was purchas'd for the first Ships tho dearer than what ought to have been paid for them owing to the Cong-hong or Chinese Company of Merchants established here.

Captain Nicholas Skottowe, commanding the Company's own ship *Royal George*, arrived at Canton on August 12th. He was charged by the Court of Directors with a mission to the Viceroy to protest against the numerous grievances from which the Company suffered. The newly appointed Viceroy arrived in Canton early in September, and the Resident Council applied to the Viceroy at an early date to grant Captain Skottowe an audience, but they regretted to have to inform the Court that

no part [of their efforts] has succeed'd except getting your Memorial translated and given into the hands of the Tsongtoc who promised to give an answer to it.

It seemed unnecessary to keep Captain Skottowe waiting for an answer that was long delayed, and the *Royal George* was dispatched to Madras on December 17th with a lading of tutenague and sugar. The reply was received on January 18, 1762, in the shape of a mandate to the Chinese merchants:

Puan Kheequa & Sinqua the Linguist came to us this afternoon & deliver'd us a Chop which they said contain'd the Tzongtou Foyen & Hoppos Answer, in consequence of their orders from Pekin to the Hon^{ble} Company's Memorial, they brought at the same time another Chop from

these Mandarins to the Merchants containing what the latter were order'd to represent to us which they said they believ'd was a Copy of that to the Company The Substance of it as well as they could explain it in English is as follows

Canton 26th Year of the Emperor the 12 Moon & 17th Day

In the Memorial brought by Cap. Skottowe address'd to the Tzongtou,

It is desir'd Mr. Flint be releas'd this Year

That the Present of 1950 Tales on each Ship

The 6 ½ Ct Valuation duty

The 2 ½ Ct on Weighing y^e Silver

The Custom of having Securitys for the Ships & Y^e

Merchants paying the Dutys

} be taken
off and
alter'd

And that the Super Cargoes have liberty of seeing the Hoppo when their Affairs require it.

To which the Tzongtou Foyen & Hoppo return an Answer—

That Mr. Flint (who is a bad Man) having contracted an Acquaintance with Loo a jung a Chinese they agreed together to make out a representation to the Emperor which the former carried up to Tien Ting & deliver'd to the Mandarin there, the Emperour having receiv'd it sent down to Canton two Toyjens to examine into the merits of the Cause their Sentence was that Loo a jung should lose his head and that Mr. Flint on Account of his being an European unacquainted with the laws of the Country should only be confin'd for three Years tho he deserv'd the same fate with the former the Emperour having confirm'd this Sentence he cannot be releas'd till the Time is expir'd this is the Custom of China after which he will [be] permitt'd to return to his own Country.

The Present of 1950 Tale ½ Ship is paid into the Royal Treasury it is of ancient standing & cannot be alter'd.

The Duty of ½ 6 Ct. on the Exports 4/10 of it is paid into the Royal Treasury this has been levied for many Years it cannot be alter'd, the other 6/10 if that is taken from the Europeans by the Merch^{ts} that is to be remitt'd.

The 2 ½ Ct. on weighing the Silver when paid into the Royal Treasury this was last year fix'd at 1 6/10 & must continue. The Europeans paying their own dutys & having no Securitys cannot be permitted, they are unacquainted with the language Laws & Customs of China a Security Merchant & Linguist therefore are appointed to supply this deficiency they must be answerable for the Customs as usual.

The Tzongtou says two Years ago they did not chuse the Europeans should go into the City but now it is order'd in case they are injur'd and want to see the Hoppo that they send for the Merchant & Linguist who are to acquaint him therewith who will then give them an Audience, but if they do not chuse this, as the Hoppo goes down to Whampo several times in a Season to measure the Ships at such times they may speak to him.

At any time when the Europeans want to see the Hoppo they are to have access to him the Soldiers & others are forbid to prevent them The Tzongtou Foyen & Namoyhien have put their Seals to this Chop which is to go to the English Company.

The Presents which Captain Skottowe brought were refused, and the Canton Council took delivery of them:

2 Clocks	£176	
1 Ring with a Watch set with brilliants	88	
2 Side Opera Glasses	22	
3 Broad Cloths		Ta ^s 812
Charges		„ 239
		„ 50
		Ta ^s 1101

CII

THE CO-HONG WELL ESTABLISHED, 1762-1764

ALL the records for the season 1762 have been lost; Mr. Flint was released from prison in November of that year. For the season 1763 the Diary has been lost, but the Letter Book of the Council from March 24, 1763, to February 2, 1764, has been preserved, and from it a few facts of minor importance have been extracted. The Council for 1763 was composed of the following :

Thomas Fitzhugh.	Samuel Blount.
([Henry Revell.])	[Hillary Torriano.]
Nathaniell Garland.	Alexander Hume.
[Mann Horner.]	(Benjamin Torin.)
Thomas Smith.	[Robert John Harrison.]
William Rous.	([Thomas Bevan.]

Those within square brackets [] did not sign until September 17th; those within curved brackets () did not sign after January 27, 1764, the remaining nine signing a supplementary report to the Court of Directors on February 2nd per *Neptune*.

There are incidental references to eleven ships being loaded and dispatched to London, either direct or via Manila. The quantities of their outward stocks cannot be ascertained. Silver was recorded as having been received, 31 chests (124,000 dollars) from England, and 1,592,968 rupees from Madras; but the needs of the force which had taken possession of the Philippines compelled the English authorities at Manila to remove 44 chests (348,000 rupees) from the ships carrying the money, reducing the amount received from Madras to 1,244,968 rupees. To the Governor at Manila the Canton Council wrote—

We are convinced of the heavy expences you must have been at, in supporting the Garrison and keeping detachments continually in the field to oppose Mr. Anda, and are sensible that the necessity of your affairs obliged you to detain the 44 chests of treasure.

The Governor at Fort St. George expressed his regret that so much treasure (prior and additional to the 44 chests) had necessarily been diverted from China to Manila,

but it was not in our power to supply that service otherwise. We are very sensible how important a branch the China trade is to our Hon'ble Masters, and shall therefore contribute at all times our utmost endeavors towards the promotion of it.

To supply the deficiency at Canton the Council borrowed at Macao 60,000 dollars at 12 per cent. and 12,000 dollars at 10 per cent. per annum, and received against bills Tls. 2,139. On February 2, 1764, the supercargoes had in their treasury Tls. 50,581.

The quantities of woollens imported at Canton are not given, but the prices at which they were sold, 'not being able to dispose of them on better terms', were recorded as follows:

Cloth: superfines	Tls. 1·850	per yard	Hairbines	Tls. 33·00	per piece
supers	„ 1·300	„	Camblets	„ 36·00	„
Salisburys	„ 1·000	„	Duroys	„ 14·00	„
Worcesters	„ 0·900	„	Allepines	„ 20·00	„
Druggets	„ 0·450	„	Shalloons	„ 8·00	„
Bencoolen cloth, fine	„ 2·900	„	Long Ells	„ 6·80	„
Do. coarse	„ 1·400	„			
Princess stuffs	„ 1·000	„			
Flannels	„ 0·250	„			
Ticklenburghs	„ 0·200	„			

These prices were for the cargo of the *Worcester* arriving March 22nd. The next ship with woollens to arrive was the *Havannah* on October 23rd, and on her cargo the Council wrote to the Court of Directors on December 22nd—

The Woolens by the *Havannah* remain on hand, nor have we been able to persuade the Merchants to buy them this year: although we have offered to sell them, and to receive only half in ready money and the remainder next year.

Winter teas for the *Grosvenor* to the amount of 5,300 piculs were bought in March and April, the early purchases at Tls. 12 and the later at Tls. 15 per picul; at the same time the Dutch bought about 8,000 piculs, and the Danes 3,300 piculs. In June the Council contracted for 13,500 piculs of new Bohea at Tls. 14·50 to 16·00, and for 4,800 piculs of inferior quality at Tls. 13 to 14; and in September further contracts were made for 10,300 piculs of Bohea at Tls. 14·00 to 17·50, and for 4,240 piculs of Singlo at Tls. 22 to 26 per picul. Hyson was bought at Tls. 43 to 54, and in December additional 2,136 piculs of Singlo at Tls. 19 to 24.

The prohibition of the export of silk had been removed, probably in 1762, but in 1763 only small quantities were exported; there is record of 113 bales only, bought at Tls. 240 to 250 per picul, and bought on credit.

The Council wrote on December 13th to Mr. George Smith warning him that unlicensed British subjects were not permitted

to remain in China from season to season. He replied that 'being appointed by Mr. Vansittart to the management of the affairs of the ship Muxadabad destined for this place', it was impossible for him to leave. There is a record of a letter received in September from the President and Council of Fort William, signed by Henry Vansittart as President (and Warren Hastings, sixth in a Council of ten); no further action appears to have been taken in regard to Mr. Smith.

The English Company has now for six years past had the nucleus of a Council holding over from year to year; the French have maintained a Resident Council from the very beginning of their trade; and in this year

The Dutch Company have now come into the scheme of settling a residence, and leaving in their hands large sums of money as a winters stock: to remedy which inconvenience the only effective method, we imagine, is to leave at least 200,000 £ in the hands of your residents after the departure of the ships of the season: as this alone can enable them to be on a footing with such powerful antagonists: otherwise the Dutch will continue to take the lead in every thing, greatly to the prejudice of the Company.

The only reference to the Cong-hong in the Letter-book is contained in a short paragraph in a report to the Court of Directors of June 8th—

The Cong-Hong still continues, with the additional grievance of a Mandareen being appointed this year to settle their accounts: who was likewise present when they raised the price of new Bohea Tea to 15 Tales a pecul: with an additional advance of 10 Tales: at which price the Dutch have contracted for 12,000 peculs. They likewise made an agreement not to take less than 17 Tales a pecul, for any contracts made without an advance: so secure they seem of doing what they please.

The war continued its course. The French flag disappeared from the China trade; but on the other hand the English Company's Indiaman *Walpole* was taken off Ceylon in September, 1762, by three French war ships, one of 64 guns, one of 50, and one of 18. This and other items of news were communicated to the Canton Council by a letter from the Council of Fort St. George; and three days later, on May 21, 1763, the latter again wrote:

Since closing our letter of the 18th Ins^t we have received a Packet from the Court of Directors by way of Aleppo, dated the 30th of November, 1762, giving advice that a cessation of Arms was declared between Great Britain, France, and Spain the 26th of that month, and enclosing copies of His Majesty's proclamation thereof.

With the restoration of peace there was a general restitution of the transmarine possessions of the belligerents, and, among others, the Philippines were restored to Spain. The force which occupied those islands had been dispatched from Madras, and the Council of that Presidency wrote to Canton asking that the homeward-bound ships from Canton should be sent by way of Manila, in order to assist in withdrawing the garrison. They also asked for aid in removing the Chinese residents in Manila who had assisted the English in occupying the islands, and had thereby incurred the hostility of the Spanish; and suggested that all who wished should be removed to Benkulen, on the west coast of Sumatra.

For the first season 1764, first and last, the Council was composed of the following:

Thomas Fitzhugh.	Samuel Blount.
[George Mandeville.]	Nathaniel Garland.
[William Mackenzie.]	Alexander Hume.
[Stephen De Visme.]	Thomas Smith.
Mann Horner.	William Rous.
[William Harrison.]	

Those within square brackets [] arrived and joined the Council during the course of the season. Mr. Mandeville died on October 7th and was buried at Whampoa; Messrs. Hume, Horner, and Harrison returned to England; and seven (including five of the Council of 1763) carried over into 1765. The books were opened on February 3rd with the following balances:

Cr. by Silver in Treasury	Tls. 50,581
Woollens unsold	„ 66,484
Tea Bohea, 1251 chests, 3313 piculs	„ 56,269
Two fire engines	„ 472
	173,806
Dr. to Silk shipped on credit, 78 piculs	Tls. 18,748
Loans, repayable Jan. 1, 1756:	
at 10 per cent., dollars	12,000
„ 12 „ „ „	60,000
	72,000
	72,000 = 51,790
	70,538
Credit Balance	Tls. 103,268

During the season stock arrived from England and India to an amount which cannot easily be determined. No silver came

from England, but from Indian ports came silver invoiced at 22,802 dollars, 495,582 rupees from Bombay, and Arcot rupees from Madras invoiced at 128,689 pagodas, making a total of approximately Tls. 309,883. In addition gold was sent from Madras, 3,842 ounces invoiced at 36,818 pagodas, still in the treasury at the close of the season credited at Tls. 44,640. Sale of woollens supplied Tls. 227,793, and lead Tls. 65,636, making Tls. 293,429 from English products; while from Indian produce on Company's account (cotton, pepper, tin, sandalwood, &c.) a further sum of about Tls. 350,000 was realized. With 14 ships to load, further funds were required; and to replenish the treasury the Council obtained the renewal of loans made at Macao in 1763 for 72,000 dollars, and contracted further loans for 92,600 dollars, making in all 164,600 dollars = Tls. 118,499, at various rates of interest from 10 to 13 per cent., for the greater part at 13 per cent.

We have also agreed to draw Bills on the Court of Directors at 90 days sight, to encourage private People to pay their money more willingly into the Company's Cash: which tho' against an order in the general Instructions, we hope our present distress will be a Sufficient Apology for: especially as our situation was not known when those Instructions were drawn out.

By these bills on London at 90 days and 5s. 6d. per dollar, and by bills on Madras at 21 days and 14 and 15 dollars for 10 pagodas, the following sums were obtained:

London	.	.	£19,147	69,617 dollars	Tls. 51,121
		{	pagodas 52,034	74,413 "	" 53,567
Madras	.	{	rupees 20,000		" 6,550
					Tls. 111,238

In addition the Council of Fort St. George transmitted some funds by the means explained in the following extract from a letter from them:

Application having been made to us, for the Loan of some money, to run at respondentia on goods to China, we have lent to Mr. Anthony Sadlier Pagodas 4200, and Shamier Sultaun Pag^a 5000 @ the Exchange of 312 Rup^a 100 Pag^a on their Bonds, which are made payable to you in Tales at the rate of 307 A. [Arcot] Rup^a 100 Tales with ten Cent Freight & Premium. . . . You are to receive the amount of the Bonds at the expiration of thirty days after the arrival of the Ship.

Under this head the treasury received Tls. 10,290, and a sum of Tls. 1,232 on a bond at respondentia from Benkulen, a total of

Tls. 11,522. In addition the Council bought a considerable quantity of tea on credit, to be paid for in the next season; and of these purchases on credit teas were shipped by the ships of the season to a value of Tls. 20,821. In these ways a stock of Tls. 1,363,300 was accumulated as follows:

Net credit balance on opening	.	.	.	.	Tls.	103,268
Bullion from India: silver	.	.	.	.		309,883
gold	.	.	.	.		44,640
Realized from English products	.	.	.	.		293,429
" " Indian "	.	.	.	.		350,000
Loans, renewed and contracted	.	.	.	.		118,499
Bills on London and Madras	.	.	.	.		111,238
Bonds at respondentia	.	.	.	.		11,522
Tea shipped, bought on credit	.	.	.	.		20,821

Tls. 1,363,300

The state of the account at the close of the season on March 27, 1765, was as follows:

Cr. by Silver in the Treasury	.	.	.	.	.	Tls.	35,552
Gold unsold, invoiced at	.	.	.	.	.		44,640
Teas paid for remaining	.	.	.	.	.		7,112
							87,304
Dr. to Loans outstanding	.	.	.	.	.	Tls.	118,499
Teas bought on credit & shipped	.	.	.	.	.		20,821
(not including 4420 piculs on credit and not shipped)							
							139,320
Debit Balance	.	.	.	.	.	Tls.	52,016

On the woollens sold the only remark that must be made is that the prices realized were the same as in 1763, and that no improvement could be obtained. The lead was sold at 4 taels a picul and delivered to the purchasers as 'ready money in part of advances for new Contracts' for tea; this seems a form of truck, on which the Directors frowned.

There is no reference to any shipment of silk by the Company. Winter teas were bought at reasonable prices—Bohea Tls. 10.50 to 11.50, Singlo Tls. 16 to 20, Hyson Tls. 32 to 33.50. In July, when the Dutch had settled a contract for 14,000 piculs Bohea at Tls. 16.50, giving an advance of Tls. 10, the English Council contracted for—

Bohea, 7,000 piculs at Tls. 16 with advance Tls. 10 cash
 8,500 " " 17.50 " " " 10 to be paid as soon as money came in the ships.

In January, 1765, they bought 13,000 chests of green tea, including 321 piculs of Hyson at Tls. 55 to 60. In February prices were lower, 4,362 piculs of Bohea being then bought at Tls. 13.50 to 16. There is a reference to tutenague shipped to serve as ballast:

Capⁿ Pigou [*British King*] having brought no Iron Kintlage from England we agreed to let him have 50 Tons of Tutenague and according bought of Kheequa that quantity @ Ta. 5.6 $\frac{3}{4}$ Pecul.

This must have been on Company's account since Captain Pigou's return of private trade by the *British King* was as follows:

Captain Pigou :

Hyson Tea, 111 chests . . .	Tls. 3,330	Rhubarb . . .	Tls. 120
Wrought Silks . . .	250	Rattans . . .	60
Chinaware, Lacquered Ware, &c. . .	3,100	Salt Petre . . .	60
Nankeen Cloth . . .	110		
		Total . . .	Tls. 7,030
Officers of the ship, total value . . .			„ 1,965
Petty Officers & Foremast Men sundry packages, value unknown.			

Of some other ships the private trade of the commander was declared as follows:

Captain Hooke, *Pocock*:

Hyson Tea, 110 chests
Chinaware, 284 chests, half-chests, rolls & tubs

Captain Webber, *Lord Clive*:

Hyson Tea, 90 chests
Chinaware, 111 half-chests, 20 boxes, 300 rolls

Captain John Mitford, *Northumberland*:

Hyson Tea, 60 chests
Chinaware, 14 chests, 90 half-chests, 20 boxes
Rhubarb, 6 boxes
Sago, 8 bags: Rattans, 100 bdles.

Captain James Moffat, *Latham*:

Hyson Tea, 100 chests & boxes
Chinaware, 90 half-chests, 25 boxes, 200 rolls
Rhubarb, 8 boxes: Sago, 25 bags
Lacquered ware, 4 boxes

Captain John Sandys, *Norfolk*:

Hyson Tea, 100 chests & boxes
Chinaware, 80 half-chests, 27 boxes, 250 rolls
Rhubarb, 7 boxes: Sago, 27 bags
Lacquered ware, 3 boxes

Captain Richard Hall, *Worcester*:

Hyson Tea, 95 chests
 Chinaware, 110 „
 Cambojium, 18 „
 Sago, 23 „
 Rhubarb, 10 „
 Rattans, 800 bundles

Captain Farham Nairn, *Lord Holland*:

Hyson Tea, 120 chests, 4 boxes
 Chinaware, 12 chests, 98 half-chests, 30 boxes
 Cambogia, 13 chests: Rhubarb, 9 chests
 Lacquered ware, 4 boxes

The supercargoes of the Council sent 'private trade' in quantities sufficient only for presents:

Mr. Fitzhugh, 10 chests Hyson in 4 ships
 Mr. Blount, 9 „ „ 3 „
 Mr. Garland, 11 „ „ 6 „

The note was added—'Messrs Fitzhugh, Blount & Garland sent no Tea to England last year.' Five other members of the Council sent by various ships 24 chests and boxes of Tea, 22 boxes of Chinaware, and 3 boxes Rhubarb.

Besides the 14 ships loaded for the English Company there were 3 English country ships from India, 4 Dutch, 4 French, 1 Swedish, and 2 Danish. Of the English Company's ships 13 were of full size, taking 4,000 piculs of tea each, and one, the *London Packet*, was small, taking probably not more than 1,000 piculs, making a total of about 53,000 piculs. The other European ships carried larger cargoes:

4 Dutch	ships,	37,078	piculs
4 French	„	14,586	„
1 Swedish	„	11,958	„
2 Danish	„	20,357	„

The *London Packet* arrived on November 23rd from Sulu, bringing trade to the value of 2,494 dollars, and 64,000 rupees in coin which had been brought from Manila when that port was evacuated. The ship was kept down at Second Bar until December 12th in the hope that some reduction might be obtained in her measurage and Present. She was measured on January 7th:

Length	44.58	coveds	Measurage as a 3rd Rate	.	Tls.	363
Breadth	17.02	„	Present	.	„	1950

The schooner *Plassey* arrived from Calcutta with a letter from the Governor and Council of Bengal, and with no cargo. After

verification of the latter fact by two merchants, and subsequently by a 'mandarin' sent by the Viceroy, her measurage was remitted. Stores for St. Helena (tea, sugar, and chinaware) were invoiced at Tls. 1,410.

Mr. George Smith received in this season no orders to leave China; but on the contrary his aid was enlisted in obtaining money on loan from the residents in Macao. In this he was very successful, the old loans being renewed and the new money being obtained through his influence. He and Mr. Cecil Boyer were consignees or supercargoes of the *Muxadabad* (which was wrecked, a total loss, on her voyage from Canton to Calcutta). Among the lenders was a Macao resident, Senhor Bernardo Nogueira Carvalho de Fonseca, who proposed to lend 25,000 dollars at respondentia at 25 per cent., on condition that he and his family should be granted a passage to London—his family consisted of himself, wife, one child, two women, and three men servants, who would embark on one ship, and his eldest son and three servants, who would go on another ship. He was informed that it was not the custom of the Council to take money at respondentia, but that for his 25,000 dollars they would give him bills on London at 90 days sight and exchange 5s. 6d. per dollar; and they would grant him passage at Tls. 120 each for the family and Tls. 30 each for the servants, a total of Tls. 720. This was a favourable rate of passage, and the lender grasped the opportunity to ask that he might take the Vicar General with himself, and the son of a friend with his son, paying for them the same rate of passage as for himself.

It is at the request of my wife, this Priest goes with us, to comfort her, in regard to Life & Death, a Motive I hope you will mention to the Captain on whose Ship I embark with my family. For this Gentleman I will pay the same as for myself.

This appeal failed to soften the flinty hearts of the Council, and he was informed that for the two not of his own family he must pay Tls. 400 each.

The opinion of the Council on the Cong-hong (or Co-hong) is expressed in their report to the Court of Directors of June 20th:

The Merchants this year have put the trade of Canton, on a worse footing in regard to the Teas, than it has ever yet been. These people thinking themselves secure from the complaints of the Europeans, which indeed they have thoroughly provided against by their excessive presents

to the Mandareens in power, imagine they may now act without controul. Last season it was late before they would contract for Teas, and when they did, raised the price of Bohea to 15 Tales, which was a Tale and half more than the preceding season. This year we have not been able to prevail with them to contract at all, altho we have been pressing them to do it, ever since the Glatton left the place [March 21]. Their excuse for delaying the time from week to week, has generally been settling old accounts of the Cong Hong, Business with the Mandareens, with others as little to the purpose, though the truth seems to be, a resolution they have taken, to fix the price of Teas, higher than they have hitherto been, by deferring the Contracts till the arrival of the Ships, and then demanding the advance price commonly paid in [the] Shipping Season, which is generally two or three Tales more than for winter Contracts. . . . The Dutch have had above 150000 Tales laying in their Treasury, ever since the departure of their Ships [in January], in hopes every day of contracting to advantage, by advancing their money: but they have not yet been able to make a single Contract.

A month later, on July 13th, when all of the (three) belated ships of 1763 had been loaded and dispatched, and two days after the arrival of the first two of the ships properly belonging to 1764,

the Cong Hong published the following Chop;

Prices to be given for the Imports of the Country Ship:

Pepper	Ta. 13	Ꞥ Pecul
Cotton	8	„
Putchuck	50	„
Sandalwood	16	„

Prices of Teas for the English &c.:

Bohea, Ta. 16½ Ꞥ Pecul: Ta. 10 advance & 2 more on y^e arr^l of y^e Ships)

Do „ 18 „ „ 12 „ when Ships come

Do „ 19 „ „ if not to be paid for till packed.

After the arrival of
the ships

Twankay, Ta. 26 Ꞥ Pecul, 15 advance .. Ta. 28,18 advance

Singlo, 1st „ 24 „ 14 „ .. 26,16 „

Do 2nd „ 22 „ 14 „ .. 24,16 „

The advances are to be paid in ready money, and no Lead or other Goods, to be taken in lieu of it: if this agreement is broken by any of the Merchants, the Mandareens are to be acquainted with it.

The supercargoes record that they constantly receive Chops of this sort, but that they are not usually consistent one with another, and that the Merchants do not seem to pay much attention to them.

By the *Glatton*, arriving on January 24th, the Council received through Mr. Secretary Robert James an important communication from Dr. Charles Morton, M.D., F.R.S., Secretary of the Royal Society. Mr. James informed them that the Court of Directors had been applied to by Dr. Morton,

at the desire of several persons of great Rank and Learning in this Kingdom, for any assistance they could give in facilitating some inquiries, with respect to the Chinese and Egyptian writing, it being conceived that there is an agreement between them, or more properly they are the same.

Dr. Morton was, however, more modest in his demand for more light:

Thro' the favor of the Hon'ble Court of Directors I have the pleasure to write to you, to desire your assistance, and care of the follow'g particulars: and that you will also recommend them, to your Successors, till the desired effect may be obtained, Viz^t

1^o to deliver to the Missionaries at Canton of the Society of Jesus, the letter and Packet, which you will receive herewith, and to recommend it to them, to be exact and assiduous in their answer, to the particulars contained therein.

2^o to procure one or two good Dictionaries of the Chinese Tongue & Characters with a literal explanation annexed thereto: and also some other capital books of the Chinese, both with and without translations, as they can be had. The Books that are most desired are, History civil & natural; Laws; Geography; and the Fundamentals of their Religion.

The supercargoes replied at once, on March 20th, that they would exert themselves to give every assistance in their power, and added—

As no Missionaries have for many years been permitted to reside here: and as the French Jesuits at Macao (who were the only people capable of giving a satisfactory account concerning the particulars you want to be informed of) were banished from that place in 1762, by an order from the King of Portugal, we think the most likely method to answer the end you propose, will be to forward your letter and packet to the Missionaries at Pekin.

A year later, on March 22, 1765, they again wrote to Dr. Morton as follows—

We duly sent your Packet to Pekin, an Answer to which directed to Doctor Butler & Yourself was forwarded to this place in November, under cover to a Jesuit then at Canton—this Gentleman informed us that the Fathers at Pekin had not leisure to write a duplicate, and on

that account recommended to us, to open it & take a Copy. . . . We now likewise send you the foll^s Chinese Books:

詩經	Xy (Shih) King	} One of the five Chinese Classic Books of Verses, in 4 Volumes
說文	Xuo (Shuo) Ven (Wen)	
正字通	Ching (Cheng) Çù (Tze) Tung (T'ung)	} An Explanation of the Chinese Ancient Characters in 6 Volumes
字彙	Çù (Tze) Luy ¹	
		} A Dictionary in 26 Volumes
		} A Dictionary in 14 Volumes.

Dr. Morton had asked that a book with the title Chow Van should be sent to him. The supercargoes replied that no book with that title existed; but beyond doubt it was meant for the Shuo Wen recorded above.

PRICE CURRENT CANTON, 1764

	Tas	
Amber 2 ps to A Catty	10 to 12	☯ Catty
„ false fine	12	☯ Pecul
„ ordinary	10	„
Allum Nankin	1·8	„
Arrack Batavia 45 @ 50 Doll ^{rs} Leaguer		
Birds Nest 1st Sort very fine	10	☯ Catty
„ „ 2d „ „ „	7	„
„ „ 3rd „ „ „	4	„
Beeche de Mar 1st Sort large and black	34 to 35	☯ Pecul
„ „ 2d „ „ „	20 to 22	„
„ „ 3d „ „ „	16	„
„ „ White	3 to 10	„
Borax	25	„
Camphire Barroos Head	7 to 10	☯ Catty
„ „ Belly	4 to 8	„
„ „ foot	9 to 2	„
„ China	30	☯ Pecul
Cinnabar Native	120	„
Cochineal very fine	5	☯ Catty
„ ordinary	3	„
Cow Bezoar	10	„
Cotch round	4 to 5	☯ Pecul
„ Square	6 to 7	„
Cotton	8·2 to 10	„

¹ Meant for 字彙 Tze Huei—a Dictionary published under the Ming dynasty.

	Tas	
Cloves	70	ꝓ Pecul
Copper, Japan	205	"
Coral Beads & branch Coral according to their goodness.		
China Root	3	"
Dragon's Blood 1st Sort	12	"
Elephants Teeth 3 to A Pecul	45 to 50	"
Flints	0.600	"
Ginseng Canada 1st Sort	1.440	ꝓ Catty
Gogul	3	ꝓ Pecul
Galinjal	1	"
Gambodia	30 to 32	"
Hingera or Coarse Assafetida unsaleable.		
Hartal or Yellow Arsenic	9	"
Lead	4 to 4.2	"
Myrrh	4	"
Musk	22	ꝓ Catty
Mother of Pearl Shells	3 to 4.2	ꝓ Pecul
Olibanum garbled	6 to	"
" ungarbled	4	"
Pepper, Bencoolen & Batavia	11.2	"
" Mallabar	12	"
Putchuck (15 ꝓ Cent to be deducted in Weight)	50 to 70	"
Quicksilver	70	"
Rose Malloes	27	"
Red Wood	3	"
Rattans	1.8	"
Rhubarb	30	"
Raw Silk Nankeen	260 to 290	"
Sago imported	2	"
Shark's fins good	18 to 20	"
Smalls 1st Sort	24	"
Stick Lack unsaleable.		
Shell Lack "		
Sandal Wood 1st and 2nd Sorts Malabar	18 to 19.4	"
" " Tymore	12	"
" " Madras	10.5	"
Sapan Wood	1.5	"
Sugar Candy, Chinchew	5.6	"
" " Cochin China	5.2	"
Sugar	4.5	"
Tin	11.2 to 12	"
Tortoise Shell thick	60	"
Turmeric	3.6	"
Wax good sort	18	"
Pearls according to their goodness.		

IMPORTS OF FOREIGN SHIPS AT CANTON, 1764.

FOUR DUTCH

Silver							
Pepper	Pec ^{ls}	8,317	92				
Tin		28,971	08				
Blackwood		1,374					
Cotton		776	23				
Rattan, 36,797 Bundles		2,143	09				
Beetle Nut		1,601	58				
Camphire Baroos		9	53				
Olibanum		81	67				
Myrrh		80	07				
Cloves		177	47				
Nutmegs		12	80				
Birds Nests		79	07				
Gambadia		3	23				
Ivory Black		76	17				
Copper		56	64				
Cloth	Pieces	72					
Cambletts 1st sort	"	27					

FOUR FRENCH

Silver							
Copper	Pec ^{ls}	521	67				
Blackwood		2,770	37				
Tin		154	05				
Beeche de Mar		120	13				
Raisins		720	31				
Cloves		54	38				
Cotton		7	91				
Ginseng Canada		28	70				
Cochineal		5	55				
Blue		37	62				
Benjamin		29	06				
Brimstone		104	65				
Camphire Baroos		19					
Cinnamon		2	16				
Coral Beads		8	38				
Elephants teeth		97					
Red Wood		1	05				
Cloth Cuttings		3	66				
Cloth of Different Sorts	Pieces	839					
Long Ells	"	232					
Cambletts 1st Sort	"	1					
" 2d.	"	20					
" Coarse	"	61					
Canvas	Rolls	40					

TWO DANES

Silver							
Raisins	.	.	.	.	.	Pec ^{ls}	1,330.80
Lead	.	.	.	.	.		5,071.60
Bulgaria Hides	.	.	.	.	.		30.07
Amber	.	.	.	.	.		19.46
Cochineal	.	.	.	.	.		5.52
Coral Small pieces	.	.	.	.	.		1.76
Cloth						Pieces, 21	

ONE SWEDE

Silver							
Raisins	.	.	.	.	.	Pec ^{ls}	700.96
Cloth Cuttings	.	.	.	.	.		.37
Cloth	.	.	.	.	.	Pieces 104	
Cambletts 1st Sort	.	.	.	.	.	41	
„ 2nd	.	.	.	.	.	21	
„ Coarse	.	.	.	.	.	3	

EXPORTS OF FOREIGN SHIPS, 1764

FOUR DUTCH

Tea Bohea Congo &c.	.	.	.	.	Pec ^{ls}	35,473
Tea Hyson Singlo &c.	.	.	.	.		1,605
Tutenague	.	.	.	.		377
Sago	.	.	.	.		122
Raw Silk	.	.	.	.		229
Rhubarb	.	.	.	.		22
Anniseed	.	.	.	.		30
China Ware	.	.	.	.		3,326
Nankeen Cloth, 15,000 P ^s						
Silks	4,718	„				

FOUR FRENCH

Tea Bohea Congo &c.	.	.	.	.	Pec ^{ls}	12,798
Tea Singlo Hyson &c.	.	.	.	.		1,788
Raw Silk	.	.	.	.		97
Sapan Wood	.	.	.	.		618
China Root	.	.	.	.		514
Rhubarb	.	.	.	.		77
Lackered Ware	.	.	.	.		140
China Ware	.	.	.	.		2,284
Silks	1,350	P ^s				
Nankeen Cloth, 11,510	„					

TWO DANES

Tea Bohea Congo &c.	.	.	.	.	Pec ^{ls} 19,407
Tea Hyson Singlo &c.	.	.	.	.	950
Tutenague	..	.	.	.	596
Sago	.	.	.	.	162
Borax	.	.	.	.	6
China root	.	.	.	.	338
Anniseed	.	.	.	.	91
Rhubarb	.	.	.	.	125
Galingal	.	.	.	.	78
China Ware	.	.	.	.	1,460
Silks	4,489	P ^s			
Nankeen Cloth,	26,400	„			

ONE SWEDE

Tea Bohea Congo &c.	.	.	.	.	Pec ^{ls} 11,660
Tea Hyson Singlo &c.	.	.	.	.	298
Rhubarb	.	.	.	.	40
Sago	.	.	.	.	20
Lackered Ware	.	.	.	.	10
China Ware	.	.	.	.	1,170
Silks	747	P ^s			
Nankeen Cloth,	8,000	„			

CIII

MEASUREMENT OF H.M.S. ARGO, 1765-1767

For the seasons 1765 and 1767 the Diaries are missing, but the Letter Books have been preserved; for 1766 no records exist. For 1765 the Council was constituted as follows:

Thomas Fitzhugh.	(Samuel Blount.)
([John Burrow.])	Nathaniel Garland.
William Mackenzie.	([John Searle.])
Stephen De Visme.	Thomas Smith.
([Thomas Thomas.])	William Rous.
([John Walton.])	[Thomas Bevan.]

Those in square brackets [] joined the Council during the year, and those in curved () left at or before the close of the season, which was February 16, 1766. The 'residents' from season to season were thus seven in number.

During the season the Company loaded fifteen ships with tea for London; of these four had come from London direct with woollens. Of the others two from Bombay brought cotton and putchuck from that port, and were then sent to Tellicherry with orders to lade sandalwood and pepper, and then to send them to Madras with a request to complete their cargo with silver to a sum of £40,000 each. Owing to the disturbed state of the back country, produce was diverted from Tellicherry and the factors were able to put only small quantities on board, so that the total lading of Indian produce on the two ships from the two ports was only £9,859 and £9,880 respectively, the whole falling about £60,000 short of the stocks which had been ordered by the Court of Directors by the two ships from Bombay. The various branches of the Company had, in fact, been straining every nerve to replenish the treasury of the Council at Canton. The Governor and Council of Bengal had, as will be related later, dispatched H.M.S. *Argo* with 10 lakhs of rupees, which had arrived at Canton in April by way of Pitt's Passage, turning out Tls. 289,953. The Governor and Council of Fort St. George had sent silver and goods to the invoiced value of 357,237 pagodas = Tls. 351,515; and in addition had accepted the offer of Mr. Nicholas Morse to send dollars from Manila to Canton, to be paid for in Madras at the exchange of 15 dollars=10 pagodas;

under this contract Mr. Morse's agent in Manila sent to Canton 20,000 dollars = 14,400 taels. The Bombay Presidency supplied goods invoiced as above at the equivalent in Bombay rupees of £19,739 = Tls. 59,217. The Court of Directors sent direct from London to Canton stock invoiced as follows:

Silver	£339,000
Lead	20,990
Woollens. . . .	47,200

£407,190 = Tls. 1,221,570

Finally the supercargoes issued bills on London (exchange 5s. 6d. per dollar) and on Madras (15 dollars = 10 pagodas) for 216,832 dollars = Tls. 156,119. The total of these receipts into the treasury was Tls. 2,092,774; from this is to be deducted Tls. 52,016, the debit balance from 1764, leaving a net credit of Tls. 2,040,758. The net balance at the close of the season, February 16, 1766, was:

Silver in treasury	Tls. 729,204
English woollens from Madras unsold	35,732
	<u>764,936</u>
Two-year bonds, redeemable Jan'y 1, 1767 . .	24,379
	<u>740,557</u>
Net credit balance	Tls. 740,557

The investment of the season may then be put at Tls. 1,300,201.

The woollens from England were kept in hand until December 5th, and were then sold at the prices of 1764, the money to be paid in the current season. From Madras had come a quantity unsaleable there 'owing to the frequent troubles in this country'; at Canton

as there are a great quantity of Reds among them, we chose to keep the whole parcel in hopes of getting a better price, which we make no doubt of doing.

The English Company's investment for the whole season was composed of the following quantities:

Tea, black, Bohea & Congo 2nd	55,989 piculs
1st Congo, Souchong & Peko	2,331 "
Tea, green, Singlo, Twankay & H. Skins	12,515 "
Hyson	733 "
Raw Silk	746 "
Nankeen Cloth	18,000 pieces
China ware, 98 whole, 1,155 half Chests.	

The silk was bought at Tls. 269 a picul. No woven silks were

bought, since their price was higher in proportion than raw silk. The early contracts for Bohea were at Tls. 16.50 a picul—

certainly a high price for early Contracts, yet it is to be observed that this is the first season since 1762 that the Merchants have not advanced a Tale a pecul: nor have they purchased Teas in a Body, as they did last year: but every Merchant has bought his own, and is to pay into the Cong Hong 3 Tales a pecul for all he packs. . . . The first Contract the Dutch made was for about 1400 Pec^s Bohea at Ta^s 16.5. In the beginning of July they made a second for 9000 Peculs at 18 Ta^s one third to be second Congo. At the same time the Sweedes for their first Ship paid Ta^s 17.5 and the Danes Ta^s 19, the latter with a mixture of 2nd Congo.

The four English Company's direct ships arrived at the end of July, bringing £339,000 in silver dollars; and the Council made offers to buy 20,000 piculs of Bohea at Tls. 17.50 to 18, but the merchants demanded and obtained Tls. 19 and would only sell 15,000 piculs. For green teas, Singlo and Twankay, they paid first and last Tls. 19 to 23.50; and for Hyson Tls. 48 to 53.

Khequa has this year done very little business with us in teas: and has even refused to let the Company have the four Chops of fine Hyson, that we have bought yearly of him ever since the season of 1762, at 60, and 55 Tales the pecul, and gives as the reason that he can get 65 and 60 Tales of the Captains.

The competition of the private trade with the dealings of the supercargoes in the finer kinds of tea was already noticed, and fifty years later was still noticed.

The English Company had only recently made a beginning of having 'residents', remaining the year through in China, but it had long been the practice of the French.

The French and Dutch residents with three other Foreigners, who reside in this country on their own account, were all gone to Macao, in the beginning of April. It is said the Dutch before their departure left their remaining ballance, amounting to about 150,000 Ta^s in the hands of Si Hunqua, Chetqua & Ingshaw, who were to allow them 1½ or 2 ⅓ C^t ⅓ month till the ten Merchants had fixed the first price for Bohea Tea for the year, and then the principal and interest were to pass for advance money, and the Dutch to have their Bohea at the price the Cong Hong settled it. The French who had about 30,000 Tales, offered to give for Bohea Ta^s 16.5: and advance 10 Tales as usual, but the Merchants refused to Contract with them at that price: upon which they put their small sum out at interest. A Danish Gentleman who remained here on his own account contracted for 1000 peculs of Bohea at Ta^s 16.5 with an advance of 10 Ta^s a pecul: and this was all that was done while the foreigners remained at Canton. . . . It was the end of May before they [the Merchants] would agree to any terms [with the English]: They then

were with some difficulty brought to contract for 16,000 peculs at Ta^s 16.5 with the usual advance of 10 Tales. Poan Khequa however, was not of the number . . . he pretended that his brother Seequa's death had greatly embarrassed him.

The reference in the above extract to the Cong-hong indicates the power of that association to fix prices. The only other reference to it in the Letter-book is in the same report to the Court of Directors :

The Cong Hong remains much in the same state it has done for these four years. The ten Merchants who compose this Company make new regulations one day, and change them the next: though seldom to the advantage of Foreigners. The Mandareens rise in their demands for presents every year, which by encreasing the Charges of the Cong Hong becomes an additional load on the Foreign Trade: yet this evil appears to us to be without remedy.

When on the conclusion of peace in 1763 the Philippines were restored to Spain, it became necessary to evacuate the British force which had been sent from Madras. They were embarked, some on King's ships, some on Indiamen from Canton sent by way of Manila; but in the end a body of 300 soldiers were unable to be accommodated in any of the ships. In March, 1764, they were embarked in the *Admiral Pocock* from Manila, but, meeting with bad weather, the ship was compelled to return to Sulu. Here the 300 soldiers were landed; and on September 29, 1764, the ship was dispatched to Canton. Arriving at Macao on June 12, 1765, her commander wrote to the Council :

I sailed [from Sulu] under Mr. Dalrymple's dispatch 7ber 29th for Canton, but meeting with a severe Gale of Wind w'ch lasted near three weeks, with little intermission, in 21 Degrees N^o. Lat. I lost all my top-masts & most of the sails, w'ch so disabled the ship, together with my persevering to get to the N^oward, that I bore away for the Island of Haynam, but not having sufficient sail to work into the Port, and the hull of the ship being so disabled, I bore away for the Port of Turan in the Kingdom of CochinChina, where I arrived Nov^r 21st in a very shattered condition. I remained in this Port till the first Instant, when I was happily informed of the Natives intention to cut the ship off. Dawsonne Drake Esq^r^e late Gov^r of Manilha, narrowly escaped falling into their hands, had he not bravely stood his ground, until assistance was sent from the ship. Mr. Nodes in the Hon^{ble} Company's service fell into their hands, & Mr. Arundine and his daughter, late inhabitants of Manilha. I intended to have endeavor'd to release them, but found the Natives so determined to cut the ship off by force of Arms or destroying her by fire, I judged it most prudent to leave the Port: and upon my sailing was attacked by six of their Gallies. Mr. Fyfe one of the Hon^{ble}

Compa^s servants had his leg broke by a ball, going gallantly to the assistance of Mr. Drake: of which wound he died in a few days. I intended sailing from Turan for Malacca, or Batavia, there to refit the ship with sails, anchors and cables &c. and from thence to have proceeded to Europe last season: but duly consider^s our situation in seamen, sails &c. and being in a Port upon a lee shore, we found we could not attempt a passage to the S^ward with any degree of safety: we therefore came to a resolution to remain until the season came round to proceed to China, there hoping to get our wants supply'd, and dispatch'd for Europe: the ship's charterparty expiring in Febr^y 1764.

In their report to the Court of Directors the Council stated that the ship lost her topmasts in a gale to the eastward of Luzon, and that, after clearing the Bashee Islands, the commander bore away for Hainan, and ultimately for Turan; and that at Turan a sailor on board killed a Cochinchinese by accident.

This occasioned a great dispute, and the affair not being settled to the satisfaction of the King, he sent down an army of ten thousand men and eight Elephants, with orders to cut off the people on shore, and, if possible, destroy the ship.

The ship sailed away and arrived at Macao, the first port from which she could be reported to an anxious world, fifteen months after leaving Manila and eight and a half months after again bringing the anchor aboard at Sulu.

The most important event of the season was the arrival of H.M.S. *Argo*, Captain Philip Affleck, R.N. In the previous season, in August, 1764, the President and Council of Bengal dispatched the schooner *Plassey* with letters informing the Canton Council of their intention of sending silver from Calcutta during the winter. A sum of ten lakhs of rupees in German crowns, ducatoons, and silver of dollar standard was made ready, and, no merchant ship being available, the money, on December 3rd, was dispatched on the *Argo*, accompanied as tender by the schooner *Cuddalore*, under instructions to neutralize the monsoon by proceeding by Pitt's Passage. They arrived at Macao on March 29, 1765; and, having been desired to place the *Cuddalore* under the orders of the Council, Captain Affleck answered on April 8th:

It being inconsistent with my duty to suffer any Vessel under my command to be searched by the officers of the Customs, I have directed the pendant of the *Cuddalore* schooner to be struck, and the Master of her to put himself under your orders. I shall never the less continue my care of her, & of the Company's treasure, in every respect that does not

tend to transacting matters with the Custom House. As from the intent of her being put by the President & Council of Calcutta under my command, it may be necessary for me to take her with me again, I hope no difficulty will arise in the releasing her from the power of this Government on my application.

The first tea contracts, with advances made possible by the arrival of the silver in the *Argo*, were made towards the end of April.

Soon after these Contracts were made the Hoppo sent the Linguists to inform the residents [Council] that he should measure the King's Ship: and when Captain Affleck refused to consent, The Tsongtoc declared he would not dispense with the custom.

Just when the attention of the Viceroy and the Hoppo was turned to the *Argo* is not clear, but presumably it was at the end of April or early in May. On June 27th Captain Affleck sent a remonstrance to the Viceroy, of which the text has not been preserved; and on July 12th, after the English trade had been suspended 'above five weeks', the Council addressed to Captain Affleck the following letter:

Since the remonstrance you sent to the Tsontou on the 27th of last month, giving him your reasons for refusing to measure the *Argo*, the Merchants have been with us almost every day, assuring us that the Tsontou will not give up the point: that no business can be carried on until you consent to let your ship be measured, nor will the Mandareens suffer us to unload our ships, thõ they have been arrived above a fortnight; things being in this situation, we addressed a letter to the Tsontoc, and Hoppo, assuring them that as you was not under our direction, the measurage of the *Argo*, was entirely out of our power, unless you chose to consent to it: but that to obviate the difficulty as far as lay in our power, we wou'd pay the measurage of one of our largest ships, in lieu of what the King's ship wou'd amount to. To this letter we rec^d an answer from the Tsontoc, and another from the Hoppo. These are as full of Insolence and arbitrary commands as they are void of reason and good manners. Soon after the Linguist brought these answers, all the Merchants came to the Factory to acquaint us, that the Tsontoc had sent a message assuring them that if the King's ship was not measured he wou'd order the Quangchufoo (who presides over one of the Courts of Justice) to examine them, and on finding out who had dared to Contract with us, before this point was adjudged, he wou'd severely punish some of them for example sake, and order all the money we had advanced to be returned to us: that the *Argo* and schooner sh^d leave the Port: and a representation sent to Peking of our ill behavior. How far this man may carry his threats it is impossible for us to Judge: but if he puts any part of them in execution, the Company's affairs must greatly suffer: the number of Merchants we were allowed to trade with

when this monopoly was first set on foot by the Mandareens in 1760 was eleven; one of these for endeavouring to assist us by an attempt to break this Chinese Company was banished & his place never filled up: sh^d the Tsontoc on this occasion banish two or three more our affairs would be greatly prejudiced by this decrease of Merchants, but our case w^d be much worse, sh^d he go further, & arbitrarily annul our Contracts: order the money we have advanced, to be returned: and not suffer us to unload our ships, or transact any kind of business, 'till he received an answer to his representations from Court; what the effects of such a representation wou'd be, is impossible to be known: but it is not improbable to suppose the ruin of our trade might be the consequence. The Company's Trade here being in this critical situation, we beg the favor of you to take this affair into consideration, and hope you will comply with our request, which is to permit the *Argo* to be measured. You will observe by the answer the Mandarin^es have given us, that they make a distinction between Mr. Anson's ship and yours, so that giving up the point in regard to yourself, wou'd not be a precedent for any of His Majesty's ships, that shou'd by accident put into this Port for Provisions only. Resting assured you will do every thing in your power for the prosperity of the Compa^y affairs, we are &c.

The distinction made between the *Centurion* and the *Argo* was that the *Centurion* had 'put into Port through stress of weather', while the *Argo* 'brought money on a mercantile account'. Captain Affleck's reply has not been preserved; but in their report to the Court of Directors the Residents state that he at once gave up his point, observing that, as he had come to Canton to do the Company a service, he would not be the means of ruining, or in any way embarrassing, their affairs. Two years later, however, in December, 1767, we have an aftermath of the visit of the *Argo*, in an inquiry from the Court of Directors:

We have received from Madras this season Instructions directed for the Council of 1766 dated the 20th of March of that year, in which the Court inform them, it has been intimated that the *Argo* frigate and Cuddalore Sloop brought to this place, sundry articles of private trade, and among them a large quantity of Ophium: at the same time requiring the Council here to make enquiry into the truth of the affair. In answer to this We can only say that We never heard of private Trade of any sort being on board the *Argo*, nor is there an account of any in the Custom house Books. The Cuddalore Captain Boswall we have been told had some Chests of Ophium which were sold at Macao: but so has almost every Country Vessel that comes here, & We imagine they will continue to bring it, while no order subsists to the contrary. The Schooner landed here by the Linguists account, taken from the Hoppo's office, only 7.56 Peculs of Gensing

9.70 „ of Cochineal

4 Pieces of Cloth

The records for the season 1766 are missing; but in the records of 1765 the Residents have detailed the steps they took in contracting for tea and silk in preparation for their investment of 1766. Having so large a balance in hand (Tls. 740,000) they made an effort to contract for 500 piculs of raw silk, 30,000 piculs of Bohea tea, and 7,000 piculs of green tea (Singlo and Twankay). For the silk they contracted at Tls. 265 a picul, with an immediate advance. Of tea they secured 18,000 piculs of Bohea at Tls. 15.7 and 7,000 piculs of green at Tls. 20 to 24, with the usual advances; and they expected to secure the remaining 12,000 piculs of Bohea in a few days even at a cheaper rate.

For the season 1767, during its general course, the Council was constituted as follows:

(Thomas Fitzhugh.)	Henry Revell.
Stephen De Visme.	Benjamin Torin.
[Mann Horner.]	(Thomas Smith.)
William Rous.	Thomas Bevan.
[William Harrison.]	[Matthew Raper, Jr.]
[John Bradby Blake.]	

Those within square brackets [] joined during the season, while Messrs. Fitzhugh and Smith left at the close of the season, February 21, 1768.

The Company loaded eight ships with tea for London. The Council had reported that the remittances of silver in the previous season (of which no records remain) had left the treasury with sufficient funds in hand to load fourteen ships, and we may assume this to be about Tls. 1,500,000. The Court of Directors, in a letter dated May 17, 1766, had ordered the President and Council of Bengal that 'forty Lacks of Rupees should be set apart for the China Investment' of 1767; but the President &c. report that 'the Importation of Bullion from Europe and the Gulph' was so inadequate for their needs, that only 24 lakhs would be sent. This sum had already been sent to Madras for transmission to Canton. The Governor and Council of Fort St. George, under date of May 6, 1767, sent the following estimate of the financial state of Canton:

	Tales
You acquaint us that you have remaining sufficient for the cargoes of fourteen Ships, estimated at	1,500,000
The Gentlemen at Bengal have consigned to us for the purposes of your Investment 24 Lacks of Current Rupees, equal to	720,560

We have in our Treasury to the amount of Spanish Dollars 36,739,	Tales
equal to	28,186
The consignments from Europe we reckon at	248,000
The Osterley's cargo from Bombay, moderately computed (actually 90,000 rupees) at	60,000
It appears therefore that you will have in China at the close of the present year	2,556,746
There are only ten Ships stationed for Canton this year, the Cargoes of which will according to your estimate amount to	1,071,420
And there will therefore remain after dispatching the Ships of this season	1,485,326
Which is nearly sufficient for the cargoes of fourteen Ships more.	

On November 25th the Council informed the Governor and Council of Fort St. George that their estimate was then as follows:

The Treasure left after the Departure of the last year's shipping,	Tales
with the supplies this Season from India, amount to	2,293,232
Our Imports are	232,999
	2,526,231
The Cargoes of the Eight Ships for Europe will amount to about	1,377,270
Balance to be left with the Residents	1,148,961

Actually, instead of ten, only eight ships were loaded; but on the other hand the lading included 2,028 piculs of raw silk and 16,210 pieces of woven silks, invoiced together at Tls. 673,400. The investment during the season on the Company's account was as follows:

Black tea: Bohea	19,960 piculs
Superior Kinds	1,409 "
Green tea: Singlo	10,823 "
Hyson	817 "
Raw Silk	2,028 "
Woven Silks	16,210 pieces

The silver remaining in the Residents' hands at the close of the season, as reported to the Court of Directors, was Tls. 1,180,191.

Among the silver received from Madras were coins of various mintages; and premising that 'it is to be observed that, between the Merchants and us, Dollars are fixed at 92 Touch', the Council reported that it had been agreed to accept the various coins at the following rates:

Patna Sonnat Rupees 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ Ct better than Dollars	
Banaras 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ Ct	
Bad Arcot 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ Ct	
Ouzerie as Dollars	
German Crowns 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ Ct worse than Dollars	

To illustrate the uncertainty of Chinese assaying of silver the Council give the results obtained by the refiners employed by four merchants:

<i>Madras.</i>						
	<i>Assay.</i>	<i>Si Hunqua.</i>	<i>Munqua.</i>	<i>Yngshaw.</i>	<i>Khequa.</i>	
Patna Sonnat . . .	96 $\frac{1}{4}$	100	98.5	98	99	
Banaras . . .	92 $\frac{1}{4}$	97	97	97.5	95	
Bad Arcots . . .	93 $\frac{1}{8}$	95.3	95	97	93.5	
Ouzerie . . .	91 $\frac{1}{4}$	89	92	92	92	

The only reference to the Co-hong in the reports to the Court of Directors is the following, dated February 21, 1768:

Puan Khequa has inform'd us that he has hopes of breaking the Cong-hong—as this year—in which we wish he may succeed.

CIV

RELATIONS WITH HONG MERCHANTS, 1768

FOR the season 1768 the Council was constituted with the following:

Henry Revell.	[Hillary Torriano.]
Stephen De Visme.	[John Searle.]
[Francis Wood, Junr.]	Benjamin Torin.
Mann Horner.	[Thomas Thomas.]
William Rous.	[John Walton.]
Thomas Bevan.	William Harrison.

Those enclosed in square brackets [] arrived from England and joined the Council during the season. Mr. Horner did not sign the Diary on any day from its opening on January 17th, until on June 5th, 'after being some time indisposed by the heat of the climate, [he] had a fever and lowness of spirits', in consequence of which he committed suicide. He was buried at Whampoa. Messrs. Searle, Thomas, and Walton returned to England at or before the close of the season on February 5, 1769.

Including the *London*, which lost her passage in 1767 and arrived at Canton on July 11, 1768, the Company loaded twelve ships for London during the season; of these four came direct from London (or called in only at St. Helena or Madeira), one came from Bombay, and seven from London via Madras. As illustrating the vicissitudes of a voyage in the eighteenth century, the case of the *Granby* and the *Ponsborne* may be cited. In a letter from Fort St. George dated August 13th, received October 12th, the Governor and Council wrote:

We have the pleasure to acquaint you that the *Granby* arrived with us the 30th July and the *Ponsborne* the 8th of the present month—the latter left England the 21st March, and touch'd no where on the Passage, so that her people are in want of Refreshment [to correct scurvy], and we cannot dispatch her to you immediately, but as she has not any consignments for this Presidency, we shall lose no time in forwarding her on her destination. The *Granby* will be dispatch'd to you in a few Days.

Both ships lost their passage to Canton; they left Madras on September 17th, and arrived at Macao, the *Ponsborne* on March 18, 1769, and the *Granby* on July 10th.

The Council received no silver direct from London; but from the Indian Presidencies the following:

from Madras (received from Bengal to be forwarded)	Tls. 376,678
from Bombay	„ 144,749
	Tls. 521,427

The ships also brought goods of which the prime cost f.o.b. (and the conventional equivalent in taels), with the amount realized by sale, were as follows:

	<i>Prime cost f.o.b.</i>		<i>Realized.</i>
			Tls.
Woollens	£126,497	Tls. 379,491	378,570
Lead	£25,325	„ 75,975	92,051
		455,466	470,621
Cotton	{ Pag. 63,609 Rup. 12,579 }	„ 72,891	97,225
Pepper	Rup. 48,115	„ 16,038	29,638
Putchuck	{ Pag. 3,282 Rup. 4,032 }	„ 4,888	8,280
Redwood	Pag. 661	„ 714	1,977
Olibanum	Pag. 380	„ 410	861
Teepey Shells	Pag. 114	„ 123	223
		Tls. 95,064	138,204

We may then summarize the stock at the disposal of the super-cargoes, as follows:

Silver in hand at close of 1767	Tls. 1,180,191
Silver received during 1768	„ 521,427
Proceeds of sale: English products	„ 470,621
Indian produce	„ 138,204

Stock available for season 1768 . Tls. 2,310,443

In their report to the Court of Directors of December 14th the Council informed them that, after the dispatch of all the ships, they expected to have no more than Tls. 129,994 remaining in hand; that from Madras they had been warned that from that Presidency they 'must not expect anything like the remittance received this Season'; and

should the Hon'ble Court judge proper to send us the same number of Ships next year as this, with the same Cargoes, and order the like Investment, we shall want the sum of One Million six hundred and three thousand and thirty four Tales, to compleat the same, & no Overplus remaining.

The estimate of Tls. 129,994 was obtained from a 'calculate' sent to Madras on November 22nd :

The Treasure remaining after the departure of last year's Ships with the supplies [in Silver and goods] this Season from	
India amount to	Tls. 1,843,344
Our Imports [from London] , ...	470,650
	2,313,994
The Cargoes of 14 homeward bound Ships will amount as	
£ Estimate to	2,184,000
Deficiency (<i>sic</i>)	Tls. 129,994

In fact only twelve ships arrived in time to be dispatched in the season 1768, so the credit balance was probably increased, in silver or tea, by a sum of about Tls. 300,000; but the Court of Directors and the Presidencies (especially Bengal) were all warned that large and early remittances would be required if a large number of ships were to be loaded—and at this date twelve was a large number.

The Governor and Council of Fort St. George had written in detail of their own urgent need of funds; and in sending the above calculation the Canton Council wrote :

We are greatly obliged to you Gentlemen for the Consignm^{ts} of Goods and Treasure received this Season: at the same time we are much concerned to find you are engaged in such a troublesome War with Hyder Ally Cawn which has reduced you to the necessity of making use of some of the Consignments of money intended us from Bengal, happy however it was, that you had it in your power thereby to support your forces, and we hope to hear by the next accounts we receive that you have intirely routed the Enemy and restored Peace to the Coast.

The woollens from London were sold at the standard prices established for the past few years, but the complaint was made that the quantity was excessive :

The assortment by the two Direct Ships was approved of, but they complain of the Quantity being too great, one reason for which we presume may be owing to Si Hunqua & Yngshaw, refusing this year to take their accustomed Quarter part thereof, being piqued at our not contracting with them for raw Silk on their terms. Puan Khequa however offering to take one half, if Chetqua would agree to purchase the other. We were happy to find he immediately consented, as the disposal of so large a Consignment was an object of very great concern to our Hon^{ble} Employers.

It may be noted that the sum realized from the sale of the

woollens barely covered the prime cost f.o.b., with no allowance for freight, insurance, interest, and profit; and that it furnished only one-sixth of the stock available for the season, and one-third of the fresh provision, in silver and goods, during the year. Moreover at the close of the season, with so heavy a load on his shoulders, Chetqua was indebted to the Company to the extent of Tls. 189,500, which he was unable to pay. To facilitate matters the Council, in preparation for the coming season, bought from him winter teas to the

value of	Tls. 20,561
contracted for new teas (Bohea 8,000 piculs, green tea 3,400 piculs) for a total of Tls. 186,600	
on which advances were payable of	88,800
paid the rent of the factory leased from him	950
	Tls. 110,311
leaving a balance in money still due of	79,189

Of this balance Chetqua paid in cash Tls. 40,000, and gave his note for the remainder.

With so large a surplus from 1767 the supercargoes bought everything in sight in the shape of tea; and, a month before the dispatch of the last ships of the old season, they began to pack Bohea for the prospective ships of the new. They did not know their names, nor how many there would be; but for Ship No. 1, Ship No. 2, and up to Ship No. 10, they packed 950 chests and 100 half-chests, each chest containing an average of 266½ catties (355 lb.), so that the total for 10 ships was 26,650 piculs of Bohea; this was winter tea bought at Tls. 15 a picul. In addition they bought green teas Singlo, 1,571 piculs at Tls. 13 to 14; Twankay 1,781 piculs at Tls. 16 to 17; Hyson as Hyson Skins, 577 piculs at Tls. 27 to 32. In August, as the time drew near for the ships to arrive and the season to open, they contracted for 2,600 piculs of Twankay at Tls. 24 and 5,400 piculs of Singlo at Tls. 22 with the usual advance of Tls. 12, delivery to begin in 90 days and be completed in 162 days; and on September 6th they repeated the contract for 3,000 piculs. With other small contracts they had now secured 17,635 piculs of green teas. In December, to complete the ships, they bought further of Bohea 6,680 piculs at Tls. 12 a picul, and smaller quantities of Hyson and other fine teas. For best Hyson Tls. 60 a picul was paid.

In procuring the raw silk they required, the supercargoes encountered a combination of three merchants (Si Hunqua, Chetqua, and Yngshaw), from whom the silk had been obtained for shipment in 1767 at Tls. 260 a picul; they now asked Tls. 270 and were willing to contract for not more than 1,000 to 1,500 piculs instead of the 2,000 piculs wanted. The reason for this last restriction was the limitation imposed in 1767 of shipments to 80 piculs by any one ship, which had involved them in extra expense. The negotiations for a contract were begun on February 24th. On March 7th Puan Khequa was approached, but he asked Tls. 268. The matter hung fire until August, when on the arrival of the first ship the List of Investment was found to contain a large quantity of raw and woven silks. Thereupon contracts were made with various merchants for a total of 29,600 pieces at prices from Tls. 7.50 to Tls. 18 per piece, to be delivered in 100 days; advances made at 72 per cent. amounted in all to Tls. 151,082, from which a total of Tls. 209,836 may be deduced. For raw silk Puan Khequa accepted a price of Tls. 265 a picul, but would not consent to contract for more than 1,500 piculs; but later he agreed for an additional quantity of 200 piculs at Tls. 294. The advance was Tls. 248.

Veiled truck is sometimes made manifest, though usually it is cloaked. In connexion with the above contracts for woven silks the supercargoes note :

Our reason for indulging Chetqua with a greater proportion of the Wrought Silks is, that he has offered handsomely in regard to the taking his part of the Woollens.

This has, however, to be read in conjunction with the remarks on Chetqua's indebtedness above (p. 136). Chetqua also, in the arrangement for securing his indebtedness, agreed to take one-eighth part of the woollens which should arrive in 1769; and a further five-eighths were distributed as parts of contracts for 9,000 piculs of Bohea and 2,600 piculs of Singlo made in February with four merchants for delivery in the season 1769.

Of chinaware each ship received (on Company's account) a general run of 50 chests and half-chests, invoiced at Tls. 1,200 to Tls. 1,800 each ship; these went in first, directly over the kintledge and dunnage to serve as flooring for the Bohea, which went in the lowest tiers of tea. The Company's investment in

Nankeens was 20,000 pieces invoiced at Tls. 7,600. Stores for St. Helena (tea and sugar), divided between all twelve of the ships, were invoiced at Tls. 2,229.

The private trade of the commanders and officers continues to be large; that of some commanders may be summarized as follows:

Ship.	Chinaware. Chests.	Hyson. Chests.	Rhubarb. Chests.	
<i>Harcourt</i> . .	69	100	20	43 Cassia Buds.
<i>London</i> . .	100	100	..	
<i>Grosvenor</i> . .	46	100	6	45 Cassia Buds. 14 Gamboge.
<i>Lord Mansfield</i> .	120	110	15	4 Cassia Buds. 4 Lacquer.

That of the *Duke of Gloucester* must be given in detail.

Captain . .	110	110	26	26 Cassia Buds. 400 Pls. Tutenague. 60 Pls. Teepey Shells. 40 Pls. Sago. 500 Pces. Nankeens. 600 Bdles. Rattans.
Chief Mate .	12	12	3	200 Pces. Nankeens.
Second „ .	8	8	..	200 „ „
Third „ .	6	6	..	200 „ „
Surgeon .	6	5	..	100 „ „
Purser .	6	5	..	100 „ „
Fourth Mate .	4	4	..	..
Petty Officers, &c., each . .	2	2	..	..

The supercargoes sent mainly only enough for presents.

Mr. Revell; 5 chests Hyson, 6 boxes Souchong, 4 chests wine, 4 boxes chinaware.

Mr. De Visme; 5 chests Hyson, 1 chest chinaware, 30 chests rhubarb.

Others were of less importance.

The principal facts of the trade of the continentals were as follows:

	<i>Ships.</i> No.	<i>Dollars.</i> imp'd.	<i>Tea.</i> Piculs.	<i>Raw</i> <i>Silk.</i> Piculs.	<i>Woven</i> <i>Silks.</i> Pieces.	<i>Tutenague.</i> Piculs.
Dutch . .	4	556,000	38,701	101	4,814	1,225
French . .	4	824,000	18,665	22	2,000	..
Swedish .	1	280,000	11,209	..	..	..
Danish .	1	212,000	10,870	..	3,204	454
Spanish .	1	50,000	..	..	?	..
	11	1,922,000	79,445	123	10,018	1,679

In addition there were three English country ships from Indian ports. Other imports were as follows:

		<i>Lead.</i> Piculs.	<i>Flints.</i> Piculs.	<i>Cotton.</i> Piculs.	<i>Tin.</i> Piculs.
English Comp'y	.	23,664	2,416	14,296	1,595
„ Country	.	..	..	6,643	3,310
Dutch	.	936	..	954	20,876
French	.	403	..	103	..
Swedish	.	2,126	..	..	..
Danish	.	4,540	..	..	..
		31,669	2,416	21,996	25,751

The silver received from Bombay and Madras consisted of rupees of various sorts. Those from Bombay by the *Lord Mansfield* are noted as being of various alloys:

Bombay	rupees, 140,000, each rupee	2½	V of alloy
Surat	„ 270,000 „ „	17/30	„ „
Bombay	„ 5,200 „ „	11/30	„ „
Ticca & other	„ 28,850 from various ports & following sorts:		

Jaynager	1 1/5 alloy	Lacanor	1 1/5 alloy
Nadershaw	17/30 „	Cabet	4/5 „
Banarass	4/5 „	Agaru	4/5 „
Prayab	1/5 „	Sundy	4/5 „
Dely Sicca	4/5 „	Ilabazee	1/5 „
Multan	4/5 „	Shawreen	1/5 „

These are all entered in the Bombay invoice as rupees, apparently of equal value; on arrival at Canton they were weighed and assayed as follows:

13 chests	Surat	rupees	Tls.	39,870	at 3	¾	Ct.	better than	dollars
15	„	Bombay	„ „	44,481	„ 6	„	„	„	„
14	„	Surat	„ „	42,937	„ 2	„	„	„	„
1	„	Gengerah	„ „	2,666	„ 5	„	„	„	„
2	„	Mixed sorts	„ „	6,030	„ 5	„	„	„	„
		{ Ticca	rupees	1,514	} 6	„	„	„	„
2	„	{ Bombay	„ „	1,887					

Tls. 139,385 with betterment Tls. 144,749.

The silver sent from Madras came, originally, for the greater part from Calcutta, partly from Bombay, to some extent provided locally; but all in the invoice were exchanged first into Current Rupees, then into Arcot Rupees, then into gold Pagodas (exchange 350 Arcot Rup. = 100 Pagodas). The invoice of the *Pacifick* from Madras may be summarized as follows:

Seven-sun Sicca Rupees 89,995 at 12½ dollar assay better than English standard, weight 2,806 lb. 5 oz. 9 dwt. Batta 13 ¾ Ct. are C. R. 101,694, at 8 ¾ Ct. are Arcot Rupees 94,161 at 350 = 100 are	Pag. 26,903
Surat Rupees assay 3 dwt. better than English standard, 46,400, wt. 1,424. 10. 3, batta 9 ¾ Ct. are C. R. 50,576 or Arc. R. 46,830 are	„ 13,380
German Crowns assay 18 dwt. worse than Eng. stand. 10,529, wt. 312. 16. 0, are Sicca R. 8,638 at 16 ¾ Ct. are C. R. 10,043 or Arc. R. 9,299 are	„ 2,657
Spanish Cob Dollars assay 3 dwt. worse than Eng. stand. wt. 875. 2. 13 cont ^s S. W. 27,586 at 97½ A. R. ¾ Ct. Sicca Wt. are A. R. 26,965 are	„ 7,704
Pagodas 50,644	

The consignment by the *True Briton* consisted of various mint-ages, similar to the preceding; while that by the *Horsendon* consisted of

Patna Sonnat Rupees, Tooley, with a flower, assay 12 dwt. better than English standard, Gun Tooley (without a flower) assay 9 dwt. better than Eng. Stand., 183,000 W^t 5,645. 2. 5., Batta 9½ ¾ Ct are 199,927 Current Rupees, or A. R. 185,118 which at 350 = 100 Pag. Pagodas 52,891

In former years it had been possible to buy gold at touch for touch,¹ or at a price approximating thereto; but now the price has risen nearly to the ratio of the European mints. In their report to the Court of Directors of December 14th the Council give an interesting note :

The Gold brought to Canton this Season is as follows :

Cochinchina: 386 Shoes of Gold @ Ta^s 10 Weight each, Touch 92 @ Ta^s 136-80

Si Cam or *Nankin*: 1220 Ps (in this shape Δ) @ Ta^s 10 w^t, Touch 92 @ Ta^s 136-80

Souchiew [Soochow]: 520 P^s Long, @ Ta^s 10 W^t, Touch 76 @ Ta^s 118-00

Tartary or *Semsi*: 630 Tale W^t dust, tho not very clean as it loses 1 or 2 Mace in being refined, Touch 98 @ Ta^s 140-00

The Quantity of Gold is very Short this year from *Cochinchina*, as the Chinese Invested their produce^d in Pepper, Sugar & Sugar Candy, and other Goods.

From *Si Cam* or *Nankin*, the people who were accustomed to bring the Gold for these two Years past, have rather been losers as the price has been low at Canton.

From *Souchiew* there used to come down 2000 P^s but the people not Finding it answer latterly and as they rather lost something by it, they have brought but the above Quantity.

¹ Cf. vol. i, p. 108.

As to Tartary there are disturbances in that part of the Country, the Gold comes from, which is the reason of the small quantity this year, but we are Informed that at other times a much greater quantity may be expected.

It is but seldom that the Canton records note the amounts of any allowances issued to the supercargoes; but this year in the invoices of two ships, direct from London, we have the allowances for fresh provisions paid to three supercargoes, passengers by the ships from London to Canton:

Invoice of the *Harcourt* from London:

Fresh Provisions allowed to Messrs. Torriano & Wood, £80.

Invoice of the *Asia* from London:

Fresh Provisions for Mr. Walton, £40.

On the arrival of the *Harcourt* and the delivery of her packet, and before the arrival of the *Asia*, we have payments made as follows:

Paid Mr. as $\pounds$ order from England:

To Messrs. Revell, DeVisme, Torriano, Searle, Torin, Horner

each Tls. 450

To Messrs. Thomas, Rous, Bevan, Harrison, each „ 300

This list does not include Mr. Wood, nor Mr. Walton, who had not yet arrived; but it does include Mr. Horner, who had committed suicide three and a half months earlier. There is no explanation of the reason for making these payments; it can only be surmised that they represented the private trade privileged to the supercargoes,¹ since after the arrival of the *Asia* the following payment was made:

To Cash paid Mr. Walton for what he paid into the Company's Treasury in England, £100 at 3 to the £ is Ta^s 300.

The monopoly exercised by the Co-Hong had for the supercargoes some slight alleviation:

April 14. The four following Merchants, Puan Khequa, Yokqua, Chowqua, and Munqua, gave us a Chop, binding themselves to be answerable for any Loss by Robbery. Having now compleated our business we applied for a Chop to go to Macao as the Tsong-toc won't permit us to stay at Canton.

The following is in the Council's report of December 14th to the Court of Directors:

The burning the Chop Boat last Season, has been since attended with a very good Effect. The Mandareens having obliged the Merchants to

¹ Cf. vol. i, pp. 75, 76.

find Boats of their own to unload and load the Ships, & in case of any loss occurring, the Merchant whose Chop is employed, is obliged to make good the same, but hitherto we have had no occasion for complaints, and the Extra Charges is only 3 Dollars 卄 Boat on the Cargoes unloaded.

The only difficulty with the Co-Hong which is recorded is on the subject of prices, and in this the Council note that they receive much help from Puan Khequa :

Sept. 3. Puan Khequa and Yngshaw came at noon, the others we sent for, one pleaded illness, the other was at his Women's house, so that these two could do nothing, they told us that there had been great disputes at the Conghong about settling the prices of the Woollens and the Payments, and they insisted on an abatement on the 2nd Sort Supers and also on the Camblets & Hairbines, but we insisted on the prices of last season and should not deviate from that: they wanted to pay for them next July or August, as we hear they have bought some Woollens from the Dutch on those terms; but we told them our Accounts must be settled on the dispatch of our last Ship, they then desired to retire, as they were not authorized to settle any thing without the others, & promised to send again to them, to attend either this afternoon or tomorrow. . . . In the afternoon we sent to Puan Khequa to know from him, what these others design doing, and he has assured us that after he and Yngshaw left us this forenoon, they had high disputes, and told Khequa, as we stood so stiffly to the prices we first proposed, and would not abate anything: that if he would remain neuter they would make us comply to their terms, as they well knew no one else could settle this affair: but he very generously offered that if we could persuade Chetqua to take half as he formerly promised, he would undertake the other. Nay he even went farther for he declared, if Chetqua did not choose to stand to what he offered, but would only take a Quarter, he would take the remainder and divide it amongst his party.

Sept. 4. This morning we waited on Chetqua, to know if he continued in the same resolution of taking half the Woollens of this Season, which he again acknowledged he would, we then went to Khequa to inform him of what Chetqua had declared, to which he agreed to take the other half: so we have sold the Woollens of this Season to Puan Khequa half and Chetqua half [at the prices of last season].

Sept. 11. This morning Puan Khequa came to the Factory to inform us that he has been using all his interest to advance the price on Cotton, the Conghong having fixed it at 10 Tales 卄 Pecul, but could not succeed, so he has offered to take all the Cotton that comes this Season at 11 Ta. 卄 Pecul. He also assures us that he cannot raise the price of our Lead: and as we expect so large a quantity he advises us to sell it at the price of 4 Tales 卄 Pecul. . . . We must do Khequa the justice to say that he has behaved through the whole transaction of our Business with great Honor.

Sept. 15. We have had several of our Merchants advancing on the price the Conghong fixed for the Pepper and this day Chetqua sent to us to wait on him, and found it was to agree for the Pepper 卄 Lord Mans-

field, he at first offered 16 Tale, but was told the price was fixed at 17 Ta. 卅 Pecul . . . which after some time he agreed to.

The Court of Directors had transmitted a request from the Royal Society to co-operate in observing the Transit of Venus in 1769; but the Council replied :

In regard to the observations to be made 3rd June 1769 of Venus over the Disk of the Sun, which the Royal Society recommend to us, we shall endeavour to get the same made at Pekin, by recommending it to the care of a Gentleman here, who corresponds with the Fathers at that Place, to whom he will transmit a copy of the Instructions the Royal Society have sent us. At this Place & Macao we fear there is no one properly Qualified to ascertain an accurate observation.

CV

DISSOLUTION OF THE CO-HONG, 1769-1770

FOR the seasons 1769 and 1770 the Diaries do not exist and only the Letter Books survive. For 1769 the Council was constituted as follows:

Henry Revell.	Hillary Torriano.
Stephen DeVisme.	Francis Wood, junior.
Benjamin Torin.	[Edward Phipps.]
William Rous.	Thomas Bevan.
William Harrison.	[Matthew Raper, junior.]
[John Bradby Blake.]	[James Bradshaw.]

Those in square brackets [] arrived and joined the Council during the season. Messrs. Revell, Torriano, and Rous returned to England at the close of the season, February 12, 1770.

Including the *Ponsborne* and *Granby*, ships of 1768 which had lost their passage, the Company loaded seventeen ships with tea for London; of these two had come direct from London, one from Bombay, and the rest 'Coast and China', i.e. from London via Madras. The direct ships brought from London silver to the value of £163,062 (Tls. 489,186), but the Court had led the Council to expect £200,000. The value of the woollens and lead cannot be ascertained, but, as in their estimate for 1770 the Council included 'Consignments from Europe Tls. 489,477', we may assume that that was the amount realized in 1769. From India, which in 1768 sent Tls. 521,427 in silver, none was sent in 1769. Instead of silver one Presidency after another sent lamentations and excuses. From Fort St. George in a letter received March 18th:

In our previous letter we expressed our Apprehensions that we should be obliged to detain the Silver at that time remaining with us: and it is with real concern we are now to acquaint you that our Apprehensions were but too well grounded: We are reduced to the unavoidable necessity of coining the whole into Arcot Rupees for the expenses of our Army in the field: and the *Granby* and *Ponsborne* therefore proceed to you without any Consignments in Treasure.

Again, in a letter received August 8th:

It is with real concern we are to acquaint you that it is wholly out of our Power to afford you the least Assistance towards the provision of your Investment for the ensuing Season, and that the Gentlemen at

Bengall are equally unable to furnish you with any supply, so much are both Settlements impoverished, ours by the very heavy expences of the late War, theirs by the immense Sums of Money supplied for your and our use, the large investments they have provided for some years past, and the very heavy expenses of their Settlement.

From Fort William in a letter dated February 20, 1769, received August 26th :

In a letter we had the honor to write to you the 9th of February last, [i. e. 1768], we acquainted you that the vast drains of Silver from this Country had left us in great distress. We are sorry to inform you Gentlemen that our distress is become still greater and that we are utterly unable to afford you the smallest supply for next year's Investment. Exclusive of the 22 Lacks we have sent to you for the supply of your Investment we have also sent to the Gentlemen at Madras 2232995 Current Rupees for the support of the War. This immense Sum from a Country before impoverished by the great quantity of Specie sent out of it hath left us in a Situation totally incapable of affording you the least assistance.

From Bombay Castle in a letter received September 27th :

It gives us the greatest Concern to observe how greatly you will in all probability be distressed this Season for a sufficient supply of Cash to purchase Cargoes for the Ships you will have in your hands owing to the little prospect there is from the situation of Affairs both at Madras and Bengall of those Presidencies being able to supply you with Specie, and what gives us additional concern is our total inability to contribute to this important branch of our Hon'ble Masters concerns as we have not by every Method we can think of been able to raise more Money than what is barely sufficient for our own Occasions.

From Madras the Canton Council received 12,201 piculs of cotton, sold for Tls. 111,000, and 2,038 piculs of redwood, sold for Tls. 6,000, a total of Tls. 117,000. As one method of replenishing their treasury the Canton Council were authorized to issue bills of exchange on London, to a maximum of £200,000, at the rate of 5s. 3d. $\frac{2}{3}$ dollar; and on this the Governor and Council of Fort St. George wrote :

Tho we cannot ourselves add the least to your Stock, We are doing all in our power to throw Money into your Treasury, and as we judge you will find it very difficult to procure the Sum which the Hon'ble Court have permitted you to draw for, We have given notice that we will purchase Cotton at the rate of 26 Pagodas $\frac{2}{3}$ Candy & engage that you shall grant Bills for the amount estimating the Exchange at 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ Dollars for 10 Pagodas & the Dollar at 5/3, or that the Proprietors of Cotton may send it Freight free in the Company's Ships, to be disposed of for their own Account in Canton, upon their covenanting to pay the amount into your Cash for Bills on the Company at the rate of 5/3 $\frac{2}{3}$ Dollar.

They undertook to send between three and four thousand bales on those terms; and as the supercargoes at Canton negotiated the sale of the 12,201 piculs of cotton mentioned above, it is to be assumed that the 3,000 to 4,000 bales (9,000 to 12,000 piculs) are included therein, since the Council head a list of bills drawn on London with the following words :

For the Amount of what Cotton is consigned to us on the Hon'ble Company's Account We have given Bills (as the Governor and Council at Madras had agreed)

and then and at later dates are given bills of a total of £81,189, equivalent at the authorized exchange of 5s. 3d. to 309,291 dollars = Tls. 222,690. We may now make an approximate calculation of the stock at Canton for the season 1769.

Carry over from 1768 (cf. p. 135)	.	.	.	429,994
Silver from London	.	.	.	489,186
Goods „ „	.	.	.	489,477
Redwood from India	.	.	.	6,000
Silver for Bills on London	.	.	.	222,690

Tls. 1,637,347

Against this we have an estimate of the

Investment by 17 ships at Tls. 120,000, Tls. 2,040,000.

And the reported carry-over at close of 1769, Tls. 102,294.

It is impossible, in the absence of more precise data, to give these figures more accurately. From want of funds the supercargoes were unable to send any silk, raw or woven; and, in order to load 17 ships with insufficient means, a more than usually large proportion of the investment consisted of low-priced teas. The investment for 16 ships (the *Ponsborne*, dispatched in June, not being included) was reported, as early as November 20th, to be as follows:

Black teas: Bohea	.	.	.	.	40,400 piculs
Congo	.	.	.	.	5,154 „
Souchong & Pekoe	.	.	.	.	1,382 „
Green Teas: Singlo	.	.	.	.	9,980 „
Twankay & Skins	.	.	.	.	9,813 „
Hyson	.	.	.	.	1,221 „
					67,950 piculs
Nankeen cloth	.	.	.	.	30,000 pieces

The Bohea tea was bought at Tls. 12 to 14 a picul; and the Nankeen, 6 yards long, at Tls. 0.38 a piece. There is no record of the private trade, but

We have granted to Captain Thomas Smallwood, Commander of the *Granby* a Certificate for Dollars 3901 paid into our Treasury by him.

Chinaware was still used to floor the ships before the Bohea was laden on board. When the *Ponsborne* was clear of her inward cargo, her commander was, on April 5th, desired to inform the Council by what passage he intended to sail back (the monsoon being on the turn), and

what quantity of China Ware with your own and Officers, you will want to floor your ship.

In reply the commander wrote:

I don't know what quantity of China Ware it will take to floor the ship, but if you will please to send 70 Chests for the Company, myself & Officers I believe I can make good the rest.

A little later the commander found that he would require to floor his ship forty half-chests from the Company in addition.

The ships usually had much illness on board from scurvy, and commonly put into some port between England and Canton 'for refreshment of the crew'. The *Granby* in 1768 put into Madras in this way; but her captain, Thomas Smallwood, referred to above, started the voyage as second officer, her original captain and chief mate having died on the voyage; and before arriving at Batavia she lost twenty-six of her crew, dead from sickness. The *Cruttenden* had also much sickness on board, having touched at no port from the Downs to the Strait of Sunda; passing through that Strait her commander applied to the supercargoes on board for permission to call in at Batavia:

I have now 25 men in so unhealthy a state that they are incapable of Duty, most of them as you see by the List I have ordered the Surgeon to send you, are laid up with the scurvy, and I have great reason to fear many more will soon be in the same situation, should I not put into a Port . . . with the refreshments I should be able to procure, to prevent the fatal consequences, which I have great reason to fear will otherwise [follow] should I proceed on my Voyage.

On June 26th the Council reported that the Dutch had 'packed Bohea Tea for near three Ships', and had made no contracts, but awaited the arrival of their ships. The Danes had packed 800 chests of Bohea, and contracted for 400 (*sic*) piculs of new tea at Tls. 14.50 and Tls. 15.50, advance Tls. 8 and Tls. 10. The Swedes had 600 chests of old Bohea and contracted for 7,000 piculs at Tls. 13.50 to 14, advance Tls. 10. The French 'never purchase the old Teas', but had contracted for 8,000 piculs of new Bohea at Tls. 14 to 15, advance half money half woollens.

As passengers by the *Plassey* from Madras to Canton, Captain Waddell reported the presence of Mr. John McClintock and Mr. William Hickey. The Council wrote to Captain Robert Jackson of Macao on July 10th that they had been advised by the Court of Directors as follows :

Being well informed [of the services] done us on several occasions by Capt. Robt. Jackson now residing at Macao, we think he may be further useful to us, and in order to encourage him thereto, we empower and direct you to make him an allowance of two hundred Spanish Dollars a year for his trouble in giving you the most early intelligence of the arrival of our Ships, and for other Services.

This payment was accepted by Captain Jackson.¹ To other private English the Council were less lenient, though they do not appear to have written the usual letter of warning. In their report of November 20th they wrote as follows:

There arrived at Canton this year Five hundred and eleven Bales of Broad Cloth, they were sent on board the . . . Ships at Madras by Mr. George Smith . . . and came consigned to Mr John Crichton upon Account of the said Mr. George Smith, soon after the arrival of the Ships, Mr Crichton informed Mr. Revell of this consignment which he desired might be communicated to the Council, and likewise that the Amount of the Cloth when sold, was to be paid into our Cash accordingly we wrote to the several Commanders for their Boatswain's Books, to discover if they were shipped by any order from the Governor & Council of Madras, but to our surprise found them received from Mr. George Smith, and delivered to Mr. Crichton, as we have had no intimation of this from the Council at Madras—We thought it our duty to our Hon'ble employers to write to Mr. Crichton, that we think it very detrimental to their Interest and contrary to their intentions that any Woollens should be introduced into this Country by private traders, and we apprehend we should be liable to the Censure of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors if we did not, not only as far as in us lies prevent such practices in future, but endeavor to save them from suffering any damage from what has been already done in this matter.

They therefore protested against Mr. George Smith and held him liable for any losses which the Company might suffer from this breach of its Charter rights.

The Merchants complain of the great quantity of Woollens, sent yearly from Europe, and wish to lower the prices, and therefore if the importation of Woollens be permitted from any of the Presidencies it must greatly affect our investment from Europe, and the Merchants will not give us Credit when we assure them, that none are to come but from thence neither will they give us the former Prices for our Goods as by this means the Market will be overstocked.

¹ Cf. vol. ii, p. 86; *antea*, p. 102.

The Council sent the Directors their estimate of the quantity of gold on the Canton market:

				Ts			
200 Ps @ 10	Tales	92 Touch @	Ta ^a	146 Silver for	10 weight of	Gold	
520 "	10 "	100 "	"	157 "	"	10 from Si Ting	
825 "	10 "	96 "	"	152 "	"	10 Hing Shoe	
1,152 "	10 "	80 "	"	124 "	"	10 Sow Chen.	

The Letter Book for 1770 gives but scanty information. There is a passing reference to the fact that the Co-hong had been dissolved, but no detailed account how it was effected. During the year the Council was composed of the following supercargoes:

Stephen DeVisme.	Alexander Hume.
Francis Wood, Jun.	Benjamin Torin.
Edward Phipps.	Thomas Bevan.
William Harrison.	Matthew Raper, Jun.
John Bradby Blake.	James Bradshaw.

Mr. DeVisme died on November 2nd, his place as Chief of the Council being taken by Mr. Hume, who had arrived from England a short time before. Messrs. Wood and Torin sailed for England at or before the close of the season, March 8, 1771.

During the season the Company loaded thirteen ships with tea for London; of these two came direct from London, one from Bombay, three from Benkulen with pepper, seven from Madras; of the last, three called in at Malacca to bring away a consignment of tin. We are informed that about 980 tons of pepper were brought in the ships; and that the Madras Council hoped to send about 5,100 bales (15,300 piculs) of cotton, 480 candies (288,000 lb.) of tin, and 90 candies of putchuck; but the invoices of woollens and lead from London are not given. The Bombay Council made up the lading of the *Lord Camden*, as instructed, to £40,000 chiefly in silver; and sent in silver an additional sum of 106,597 rupees to supply the needs of the Canton treasury. The Fort St. George Council did what they could to help the Canton supercargoes, and early in the season they wrote that they hoped to send, in goods and silver, not less than two lakhs of Pagodas. Their currency at this time was gold (Pagodas), and, as the price of silver, always fluctuating, was in this year at a high level, they were unable to obtain supplies of the white metal, while Bengal could supply none. The Madras Council wrote (received September 2nd):

We have lent at Respondentia Thirty five Thousand Pagodas to be paid to you in Spanish Dollars at the rate of 15 for 10 Pagodas; Silver is not procurable at any rate.

By subsequent loans the total at Respondentia was raised to 42,427 Pagodas = 63,640 dollars. Bills of Exchange were drawn on London amounting to £—; and there the general letter breaks off, the amount being left blank. The Council on November 29th wrote to the Council of Fort William :

By the timely and great assistance we have received this last Season from the Gentlemen of Madrass we are enabled to complete our Investments in every article except Raw Silk none of which has been shipped from hence for these two Years past, not having had wherewithal to purchase it; the Quantity ordered for 1769 and 1770 by our Hon'ble Employers and so much desired at home both with a profitable and a popular View would have employed Tales 1,300,000—without the handsome Supply from Madrass we should not have been able to load Our Ships, even without Raw Silk.

There is only one reference to an attempt to buy silk. When the supercargoes found that there was a possibility of their having a surplus, they engaged Puan Khequa to send into the silk country to see what could be obtained. In writing to the Court of Directors on January 4, 1771, they reported :

Puan Khequa rec'd last night an answer from his Son at Chinchew relative to the Commission we gave him concerning Raw Silk; he says there was not above Fifty Bales in the place which were bought by one Person at 300 Tales per picul, which could not be delivered on board under 315 Tales: We are sorry to have been disappointed in our Endeavour to send home some Raw Silk, but we were fearful to attempt to engage for any before we were certain we should have a large Surplus, which we could not be until the arrival of the two Spanish Ships, from Manila, by which we have been supplied with a large Sum for Bills.

Of teas the purchases are not easy to make out, but as far as they can be traced they were about 42,000 piculs of Bohea, 5,600 piculs of Congo, 14,000 piculs of Singlo and Twankay, besides smaller quantities of Souchong and Hyson. The price of Bohea during the season rose by steps from Tls. 13.50 to Tls. 15.50, but towards the close 9,000 piculs were bought at Tls. 13.50; and at the very close 2,000 piculs at Tls. 11. Before the opening of the season the Dutch, who had a large credit balance, bought 5,000 piculs winter Bohea at Tls. 11 and made advances to send into the country to buy further quantity at Tls. 11.50; 'their remaining quantity of Bohea, which might be from four to six thousand Piculs, they contracted for at 14 Tales'. The Danes contracted for enough to load one ship, 'and provisionally for 2/3 of another', at Tls. 14; but it is not recorded if the

second ship came. The Swedes, 'by means of a large sum falling into their Cash' (presumably for bills of exchange), were able to contract for 12,000 piculs of Bohea at Tls. 14, advance Tls. 10, and 2,000 piculs of Congo at Tls. 22.50 to 25, advance Tls. 16.

All the above Teas falling into the hands of Foreigners was totally owing to our being destitute of Money.

With reference to the issue of bills of exchange, and the competition in them between the various Companies, the following letter to each of the commanders will be of interest :

The Hon'ble East India Company having received Intimation that the Commanders have contrary to their Orders made use of foreign Companies and their Agents to make Remittances from Canton We are positively Ordered to repeat that you are forbid making use of any Foreign Channels for remitting Money to Europe, under pain of absolute Dismission, and as it is impossible that these illicit Practices should long remain a Secret, we shall be under the necessity of transmitting to the Hon'ble Company an Account thereof.

In the previous season, 1769, a beginning had been made of systematically combining a purchase of tea with a sale of woollens. This was contrary to the instructions regularly sent for a century that all sales were to be for cash in order that the Directors might feel the pulse of the trade. For a century, however, this order had been disregarded in the spirit, though obeyed in the letter of the avoidance of overt truck. In 1769 the combination had been made with two Merchants, but at the end of 1770 it was made with five.

We were the further induced to make these Agreements [for tea at low prices] flattering ourselves they might have some influence on the Conduct of the Conghong Merchants who we were informed intended to demand for Bohea 16 Tales, Twankay 26 Tales and First Singlo 24 Tales, which at that Season we thought much too high a price, with any propriety to engage at. As it was past a doubt there was a large Quantity of Woollens of every kind remaining at this place on hand, and what small proportion had lately been disposed of by the Merchants, was done at 15 to 20 per Cent discount, the Council conceived the only and best method of disposing of those that might arrive by the expected Ships was to include the Sale of them at the best prices they could procure in the Contracts for their several Purchases of Teas, which mode had been with success pursued the foregoing Year.

In their final report of March 8, 1771, the Council explain their action in further detail :

It is with great Satisfaction we can inform your Honors of our Success in having already disposed of Seven Eighths of the Woollens intended

for this Market the ensuing Season [1771] and in a manner which we hope you will entirely approve of. We are sensible of your desire to provide their Consumption in this Empire, have therefore divided them to prevent their being kept in a few hands, and distributed just sufficiently to feed the Market, by selling them to several separate Merchants, who by employing different Shopkeepers and perhaps trying different Methods to dispose of them may make them spread to a greater Extent: yet with all Contrivance they can invent we have good Information the Quantity exceeds the demand and it is not without tacking to the different Shares of the Woollens proportional Contracts that we can prevail on the Merchants to become Purchasers.

On this basis the Council disposed of seven-eighths of the woollens expected to arrive in 1771 as follows:

To Puan Khequa	1/4	Chowqua	1/8
Yngshaw	1/4	Munqua	1/8
Chetqua	1/8		

The prices were settled at the same rates as in 1770 and in previous years:

Cloth: Superfine,	Tls. 1·90 a yard	Long Ells,	Tls. 6·80 a piece.
Supers	„ 1·30 „	Camblets	„ 36 „
Worcesters	„ 0·90 „	Hairbines	„ 33 „

At the same time they made with the Merchants proportionate contracts for teas for 1771 as follows:

Bohea,	10,500 piculs at Tls. 14;	advance Tls. 6 paid at once;
„	„ „ „ 14·50 „	„ „ paid on arrival of first ship with silver.
Twankay,	4,830 piculs at Tls. 23 and 24,	adv. Tls. 12 as above.
Singlo,	5,450 „ „ „ 21 „ 22 „	12 „
Hyson Skin,	3,270 „	} at different prices.
Hyson „	1,490 „	

The Co-hong still had some life, as evidenced by the attempt to fix the prices of teas referred to above; but steps taken by Puan Khequa were reported, though not in precise detail. In negotiating for the sale of the woollens of 1770 Puan Khequa offered these alternatives: if he took 1/4 of the woollens at last year's prices, the Company must buy

Bohea,	5,000 piculs at Tls. 15·50 with Tls. 6 advance.
Twankay,	1,000 „ „ 25·50 „ „ 12 „
Singlo,	1,000 „ „ 23·50 „ „ 12 „

if he took no woollens the Company must buy

Bohea,	5,000 piculs at Tls. 14·50	} advances as above.
Twankay,	1,000 „ „ 24·50	
Singlo,	1,000 „ „ 22·50	

if he took $\frac{3}{4}$ of the woollens the Company must buy

Bohea,	16,000 piculs at Tls. 15.50	} advances as above.
Twankay,	3,000 " " 25.50	
Singlo,	3,000 " " 23.50	

He pointed out that 'we should find great difficulty in disposing of our woollens this year'. The supercargoes record that, as Puan Khequa was conducting a delicate affair for them, they were unwilling to embarrass him. They accordingly sent for Yngshaw, imposed on him the purchasing of $\frac{3}{4}$ of the 1770 woollens at last year's prices, and bought from him—

Bohea,	16,000 piculs at Tls. 15.50 with Tls. 6 advance.
Twankay,	2,000 " " 25 " " 12 "
Singlo,	4,000 " " 23 " " 12 "

At the same time, on condition of Puan Khequa buying the year's importation of lead at Tls. 4, pepper at Tls. 13 and 14, and cotton at Tls. 9, they contracted with him for—

Bohea,	9,000 piculs at Tls. 15.50 with Tls. 6 advance.
Twankay,	2,000 " " 25 " " 12 "
Singlo,	2,000 " " 23 " " 12 "

In the final report to the Court of Directors the Council were able to report the dissolution of the Co-hong :

It is with the greatest Pleasure we can inform your Honors of the Dissolution of the Conghong—that arbitrary, unjust and oppressive Imposition on the Trade of this Port: this much wished for Event took place the 11th [February 1771] past, the day the Tsongtoc's Edict for that purpose was signed, and it was made public the 13th: by this Edict the Trade is put on the same footing it was before the forming this baneful Monopoly.

After recording the forward sale of the 1771 importation of pepper and cotton to Puan Khequa at the prices of 1770, they further note:

Our Inducement to contract with Puan Khequa for our Pepper and Cotton was to encourage him to take a share of our Woollens, being very desirous to have him concerned in them the first Season after the Dissolution of the Conghong lest it should be attempted to lay any new Impositions upon Imports, that it might be his Interest as well as of other Principal Merchants to prevent any Imposition on this Article and the Pepper which may be looked upon now to be one of the Staples of this Market and chiefly the Produce of one of the Hon'ble Companys own Settlements we also chuse it should be his immediate Interest to protect.

In one matter in which the Merchants were unable to resist the importunities of the officials, they sought to make the super-

cargoes their protectors. In the private trade were imported many 'singsongs', a generic term which included musical boxes, mechanical toys, clocks, watches, and other objects of beauty or curiosity, which the officials were eager to acquire, either for themselves or to send to the court or the ministers of state at Peking.¹

On this subject the Council addressed the Court of Directors:

We beg leave to observe to your Honors that the Merchants here are under very great apprehensions that the Toys brought out on board the Hon'ble Companys Ships to such large amount as have been lately, will be the Ruin of some of them: since the dissolution of the Conghong the Merchants are no longer responsible for each other: therefore there is great Reason to apprehend that the Company may be involved in their Misfortunes, at present the Merchants are too few in number, as well as deficient in Capitals, for our Trade here, Ruin happening to any of them will yet [further] reduce the Number.

The Chief of the Dutch supercargoes brought to the notice of the English Council that, as he alleged, the Chief Mate of the *Lord Camden* had offered twenty-six shillings and sixpence per month to Dutch seamen to engage on board the *Lord Camden*; and that as fifteen men had deserted from the Dutch ships, he suspected that they were on board the English ship. The commander of the latter replied that he gave but twenty-three shillings per month, and with 59 foremast men and 113 on the ship's books, it was not likely that he would put the ship to such an expense as the offer of such high wages would entail.

On the subject of opium the Council addressed an identical note to the two Presidencies of Bombay and Madras, but the reason for taking the step is not recorded.

We beg leave to observe that the use of Ophium is prohibited in this Country under the severest Penalties—not only Loss of Life to the guilty Person, but Extirpation of his Family, and the Confiscation of the Ship or Vessel that imports it, which is immediately burnt. We therefore beg you will positively forbid any of our Commanders or others receiving or sending it on board for this place—should it happen to be discovered it may be of the utmost Consequence to our Trade here—and not only to our Trade but to our Persons. We are here liable to answer for the Misdemeanors of any Persons who may come as Passengers on our Ships—also the Security Merchant of the Ship is answerable for the Duties on any Goods they may bring. Ophium brought by them may equally involve us in Difficulties, as if brought by the Commanders, or any Officer belonging to the Ships.

¹ Cf. *antea*, p. 71.

CVI

THE ORGANIZATION OF TRUCK, 1771

FOR the season 1771 we have the Letter Book; but the surviving Diary begins on January 24, 1772, and ends on March 8th at the close of the season, the earlier volume being missing. The Council was composed of the same members as at the close of the season 1770, with the addition of Messrs. Francis Wood and William Rous (probably returning from India), John Walton (who joined it and left during the season), and William Henry Pigou (who took his place at the foot). Mr. Alex. Hume remained the Chief.

During the season, including four which had lost their passage in 1770, the Company loaded twenty ships for London, a larger number than in any previous year; of these one came direct from London, one from Bombay, fifteen from London via Madras, and three via Benkulen.

From the sale of the imports from Bombay, Madras, and Benkulen a total of Tls. 101,279 was realized, but the proceeds of the sale of English products cannot be ascertained. The recorded quantities of the imports at Canton of the main staples under all flags, and of the principal exports by all ships except those of the English Company, are as follows:

	<i>English.</i>		<i>Dutch.</i>	<i>French.</i>	<i>Danish.</i>	<i>Swedish.</i>
	<i>Company.</i>	<i>Country.</i>				
No. of Ships . . .	20	2	4	3	1	1
<i>Imports.</i>						
Cloths, Hf. pieces . .	9,972	12	..	201	29	..
Camlets Pieces . .	1,262	..	24	12	..	308
Long Ells, „ . .	23,744	..	..	..	..	..
Lead, Piculs . .	49,284	..	1,657	2,640	3,748	2,590
Flints, „ . .	2,218	..	..	..	..	..
Rabbit Skins, No. . .	71,297	2,600	..	..	..	..
Clocks, „ . .	70	..	..	..	..	..
Mirrors, „ . .	654	48	..	34	..	..
Tin, Piculs. . .	7,083	1,597	24,519	240	274	..
Cotton, „ . .	32,244	4,612	..	573	..	..
Pepper „ . .	8,244	248	8,009	2,092	..	..
Sandalwood, „ . .	3,830	35	..	..	..	..
Silver Dollars, Chests	20	3	106	104	27	?

Continued—

	<i>English.</i>		<i>Dutch.</i>	<i>French.</i>	<i>Danish.</i>	<i>Swedish.</i>
	<i>Company.</i>	<i>Country.</i>				
<i>Exports.</i>	About					
Tea, Piculs .	106,000	177	35,776	12,323	10,026	12,609
Raw Silk, „ .	1,600	10	231	201	40	..
Woven Silks, Pieces .	..	580	3,257	2,346	1,163	936
Chinaware, Piculs .	?	454	3,179	1,577	674	985
Tutenague, „ .	..	..	1,228	..	150	..

N.B. The figures for the trade of the continental countries are those reported by the Linguists. No report was made of any importation of watches or singsons, but the import was undoubtedly considerable. The tea by the English Company's ships is based on a computation of 5,300 piculs average.

For the direct provision of funds for stock the Madras Council in April expressed their regret that they must inform the Canton Council that—

our Treasury will not admit of our making any Purchases for that Purpose, and that Bengal can afford no assistance, so that our only Method will be to throw Goods into your Hands, for Bills on the Hon'ble Court on the most favorable terms we can procure.

Three months later, on July 24th, they further wrote:

Altho' the state of our Treasury is such as to prevent our furnishing you with any immediate supply from our own resources, we have the Pleasure to inform you that we hope you will receive through our means to the amount of two Lacks of Pagodas. We have granted Bills on the Hon'ble Court at three years and $8\frac{2}{5}$ the Pagoda, to the amount of Pagodas 38,264 for Goods actually purchased. We have drawn on them for the further sum of Pagodas 50,000 on the same terms, upon condition that Goods to that amount, shall be laden on the Company's Ships, Freight Free, and that the said Sum of Pagodas 50,000 shall be paid to you at the Rate of 15 Spanish Dollars for 10 Pagodas, & that the Owners in further consideration for this Indulgence shall pay to you the additional Sum of 112,500 Spanish Dollars equal to Pagodas 75,000, for which we have promised that you shall grant Bills on the Hon'ble Court at their stated exchange for this Year.

Of the 112,500 dollars, 14,900 were exchanged for bills on London, the remainder, 97,600 dollars, being deposited in the treasury, for which bills were to be granted as demanded. The Bengal Council confirmed the statement that they could supply no funds; and the Bombay Council, while regretting their inability to send silver, adopted another method of supplying the needs of the Canton treasury:

It is entirely out of our Power to consign you any Specie by this Vessel, but in order to obviate the Inconvenience which a disappointment therein must be to you, we have accepted of and now enclose you Bills from Mr. John Hunter on his Agents at Canton for £32,000 or Rupees 256,000, payable at 90 Days Sight, for which we have agreed to give him Bills on our Employers by the first Ship of the next Season.

These bills for £32,000 should, at the Company's conventional rate (£1 = Tls. 3), have represented an exchange operation of Tls. 96,000; but in fact those on Mr. Hunter's agents were for Tls. 83,660 only. From London were received 20 chests of silver (80,000 dollars = Tls. 57,600); 30 chests were sent, but at Benkulen 10 chests were taken out by the 'President and Council of Fort Marlboro' for the use of their Presidency'.

During the season the supercargoes issued bills on the Court of Directors in London at 365 days sight and exchange 5s. 6d. per dollar, for a reported total of £98,058; there were two ships dispatched in December for which the amount drawn was not given, but it may be assumed at about £10,000; this makes a total of £108,058 = 407,284 dollars = Tls. 293,244.

The known elements making up the stock for the provision of the investment of the year are then as follows:

Carried over from season 1770, unknown	Tls.
Stock from London, unknown	
Stock: goods from Bombay	Tls. 20,948
" " " Madras	" 45,535
" " " Benkulen	" 34,796
	101,279
Silver from London (so far as known)	57,600
Bills on London (including Bombay credit)	293,244
Madras credits (Madras drawings on London)	54,000
Left on deposit for further bills, 97,600 dollars	70,272
	576,395

The invoices of 20 ships, laden with tea and silk, may be assumed to have been not less than a total of Tls. 2,400,000; there remains therefore a balance of Tls. 1,823,605 provided from other sources, in addition to the carry over to the next season.

The following note gives a hint of the manner of loading the ships—chinaware at the bottom, Bohea next above that, then Singlo and fine teas, with the silk last:

The Ships are in great forwardness, having ten of them ready to receive Green Teas. We have China Ware and some Bohea on board all the Ships, except the two last arriv'd, and these we hope to dispatch very soon after the expiration of the time for the last delivery of the Raw Silk.

Ten days after the arrival of the *British King*, her lading inward having been discharged, the Commander wrote:

As you are pleas'd to leave it at the option of the Commanders of the respective Ships, what quantity of China Ware you shall send towards the flooring of each Ship, I think it necessary to acquaint you, that if you'll please to order Eighty half-chests, on account of the Hon'ble Company, on board the *British King*, the rest will be completed in the private Trade.

The *British King* was dispatched too early for her private trade to be included in the surviving Diary; but the commander of the *Cruttenden* had as his venture 80 chests Hyson and 116 chests of chinaware, and other commanders corresponding quantities.

The most important transaction in the season was the organization of the sale of the Company's imports into Canton by truck or barter. This practice had always been prohibited by the Court of Directors, and the prohibition had always been disregarded by the supercargoes.¹ The latest instance had been at the close of the previous season, 1770, when Puan Khequa had agreed to buy all the Company's imports of lead and Indian produce arriving in 1771 at the prices of 1770, in consideration of receiving a forward contract for 13,000 piculs of tea to be delivered in 1771, while Yngshaw contracted for 12,000 piculs of tea and agreed to buy three-fourths of the import of English woollens.

In the same way certain commodities to be imported in 1772 were sold in advance at prices either above or the same as in 1771 (cotton Tls. 9, pepper Tls. 13 and 14, lead Tls. 3.50) in consideration of a contract for future delivery of tea:

Bohea,	5,000	piculs at Tls. 13	with cash advance	Tls. 6
Twankay,	2,000	" "	23 " "	" " 12
Singlo,	3,000	" "	21 " "	" " 12
Hyson,	500	" "	58	} without advance
Hyson Skins,	1,000	" "	29, 28, 27	

The lead of 1771 was sold in truck in one lot:

We are sorry to inform your Honors the Price of Lead is so extremely low, from the great quantity before on hand, added to that imported this Year, that we have been obliged to sell the Lead of this Season at the nominal Price of T. 3.20 though in fact only T. 2.80 as we could not sell it without contracting for Tea at 12 Tales $\frac{2}{3}$ Picul to be paid in Lead, two thirds, at T. 3.20 which Tea, had it not been loaded with that article we could have purchased at 11 Tales.

The most marked step forward was in the simultaneous sale and

¹ Cf. Index, vol. iv, s.v. Truck.

purchase of woollens, with a corresponding purchase and sale of tea. A beginning of this practice was made in 1770 in advance for the trade of 1771, and it was continued in 1771 for 1772, the woollens to arrive in 1772 being sold at nominally the prices of 1771, which had been the fixed standard for some years previous. During the month of February, 1772, the following cross contracts were made:

	Woollens. Eighth share.	Bohea. Piculs.	Singlo. Piculs.	Twankay. Piculs.
Yngshaw . . .	2	?	?	?
Tinqua . . .	1	1,500	750	750
Sy Anqua . . .	1	1,500	950	550
Munqua . . .	1	1,500	900	600
Chowqua . . .	1	1,500	1,080	480
Kewshaw . . .	1	1,500	850	650
Teowqua . . .	1	1,500	1,000	500
The Bohea was at Tls. 13.50 and 14 the picul, with Tls. 6 advance				
„ Singlo „ „	19	21	„	12 „
„ Twankay „ „	23	„	„	12 „
Delivery of Bohea to begin in 215 days, to end in 250 days				
„ Singlo „ „	240	„	270	„

The woollens sent out from England had been sold in Canton at a steady loss,¹ and even then the import had risen only to what was then considered the large total of about Tls. 450,000 (£150,000) realized in 1770; by the new arrangement, organizing the system of truck, the Company's import of woollens into Canton increased to the total in 1826 of Tls. 2,437,500 (£812,500), besides British calicoes of a value of Tls. 36,144 (£12,048). From that time the dumping of woollens by the Company was seriously interfered with by the 'illicit' importations of the Americans, who in 1826 imported into Canton woollens of a value of Tls. 456,497 (£152,166) and cotton-piece goods of a value of Tls. 188,424 (£62,808).

It will be observed that Puan Khequa is not in the above list. He was in close touch with the supercargoes in very important matters. On March 3, 1772, are entries of two payments made to him:

To Puan Khequa For Advance on Raw Silk Contract, Tales	125,000
To do in part of another Account „	41,423

Two days later appears another entry:

The Sum of Tales 41,423 paid to Puan Khequa the 3rd Instant was in part payment of Tales 50,000 mentioned in our Private Letter to the Honorable Court of Directors per Talbot [dispatched March 4th].

¹ Cf. vol. ii, pp. 10, 139, 210.

The silk contract exemplified a financial transaction which, for the first time, was made possible by the continuity of a permanent resident Council. On February 28th

Puan Khequa mentioned to the Council that as he had a considerable Sum to pay to different Persons, which was to be remitted to England by Bills on the Hon'ble Company, but that as he apprehended he should find it difficult to raise the Sum in less than 12 or 14 days, which would be too late to send Bills to England this Season, he was therefor desirous of making a Proposal which at the same time that it would accomodate him would be advantageous to the Company. This Proposal was that if we chose to contract for Raw Silk he was ready to do it, and if we could grant Bills on the Honble Court of Directors the amount of such Bills he would deem as part of the advance on the Contract. As this Money could not be paid into the Company's Cash, at least this Season, by any other means, and it being the same whether we rece'd the Money in Specie and afterwards paid it away, or rece'd it in this manner, also judging the Hon'ble Court of Directors to be desirous of having Raw Silk sent home annually . . . his Proposal was attended to.

There was then some discussion on the quantity, the conditions of delivery, and the price, and finally the contract was settled on the following terms:

500 Peculs at 265 Tales, to advance at present Tales 250 per pecul. To begin to deliver in the 9th Moon (which ends the 25th October) and to deliver the whole in the 10th Moon.

700 Peculs at 275, to advance 260 Tales per pecul: these to be optional on our parts if declared in 155 days, either for this Quantity or a smaller: to begin to deliver it in the 10th Moon and to finish the delivery by the 20th of the 12th Moon (the 13th January). Puan Khequa to be paid on the arrival of the First Ship with Silver, half on board on account of his advance for the optional Parcel, and the remainder of his advance to be paid out of the Second Ship.

This contract in advance for 1772 compares favourably with those made with Yingshaw at various dates between August 30th and September 23rd, 1771, for 1,600 piculs of raw silk at Tls. 272.50 per picul, with advance of Tls. 260, to be delivered the earliest by December 8, 1771, and the latest by January 31, 1772. In their report to the Court of Directors, the supercargoes refer to the poor quality of some of Yngshaw's silk which they ultimately accepted, because

we did not esteem it for the Hon'ble Company's Interest to oppress the Merchant to the utmost. He is Leader of one Party here, as Puan Khequa is of the other, and it is their Jealousy and hatred of each other,

which has been our great Security against paying unreasonable prices for our Goods.

Among the other Merchants, report is made of the death of Chetqua at some time since 1770. Another merchant, Wayqua,¹ having been often pressed to liquidate his debt to the Company but without result, and being at the close of January, 1772, threatened with being reported to the Hoppo and Viceroy, pleaded for delay until the 20th day of the first moon (February 23rd); his request was granted, but on February 28th, as he had not paid his debt, it was resolved to petition the Viceroy. On March 5th

The Linguist came to the Factory to inform us our Petition relative to Wayqua's Debt had been taken into consideration—that he had absconded, but diligent search was making for him, and when taken we should have all possible Redress.

There is a reference to a reduction made in the amount or the rate of the commission payable to the supercargoes, but no information is given of the old rate or the new.

Upon opening our Packet ~~to~~ Glatton, the Council could not but be deeply and sensibly affected, in finding so very considerable reduction in their emoluments. Not conscious of having acted in a manner that might render them unworthy of the Favor and protection of the Hon'ble Court, but sensible of having acted at all times with the strictest Integrity, and to the utmost endeavor'd to promote the Interest of the Hon'ble Company's very large concerns entrusted to their care and management. Several of the Council have serv'd many years chearfully and faithfully, and have not found such advantages have arisen as to enable them to retire. Others who have of late years engag'd in the Service, have but a melancholy prospect in view, as such a considerable reduction in the emoluments cannot but add several years to their continuance in this very distant Country. We hope and flatter ourselves the Hon'ble Court will upon reconsidering this affair, please to re-establish the ensuing Council in their usual emoluments, and also grant to the present the full amount for this Season.

In addition to their commission from the Company, the supercargoes acted as agents for persons in England and India, and for this agency they received commission at a rate which is not known. The surgeon to the factory, Dr. Gordon, died during this year, and, when his estate was wound up, his executors had various sums to remit to his constituents,

¹ Cf. vol. ii, p. 25.

as shown in the following list of bills issued on London on March 3, 1772:

<i>Received from.</i>	<i>Amount. Dollars.</i>	<i>Payable to.</i>	<i>Amount. £</i>
Executors of the late Dr. Gordon . . .	8,560	Valentine Fitzhugh Esq.	2,354
Do.	4,400	Jas. Flint Esq.	1,210
Do.	5,517	Mad ^{me} Johanna Bonille	1,517
Do.	4,944	Fra ^s Fowke Esq.	1,360
Do.	2,738	Mr. W ^m Gordon	753
Do.	10,658	Mr. John Jackson	2,931
Do.	9,059	Mr. Tho ^s Cairns	2,491
Do.	3,590	Mr. Tho ^s Browne	987
Do.	2,909	Mr. Alex ^r Todd	800
Do.	24,942	Capt. Jn ^o Lauder	6,859
Do.	14,928	Capt. W ^m Elphinstone	4,105
Mr. W ^m Dallas . . .	21,210	Mr. Jn ^o Crichton	5,833
Mr. Jn ^o Crichton . .	19,430	Gen ^l Rich ^d Smith	5,343
Mr. Tho ^s Bevan . . .	23,337	Messrs. Walpole, Cliffe and Bourne	6,418
Messrs. Hume, Phipps and Wood	61,175	Sir Rich ^d Hotham	16,823

The first 13 Bills are dated the 29th past but were not delivered till this day.

In the above list are the names of two 'private English', and others are recorded in previous seasons as going and coming. On September 8th the Council wrote to seven gentlemen as follows:

[We are order'd by] the Hon'ble Court of Directors [to acquaint you that they are concern'd to observe, the little attention you paid to their orders, communicated to you by the Council here the 25th Oct. 1769. And they] have commanded us to inform you, that as residing in China on private account, is contrary to their most positive orders, that they are determin'd to inflict such Pains and Penalties as may be in their Power, should you refuse paying a due obedience to their Commands, and have given us directions formally to protest against you.

The letter in full was sent to two, Messrs. John Crichton and Dyce, who had been warned two years earlier; and to five others—Messrs. William Dallas, William Dalrymple, George Smith, Walter Cowdie, and John Corsar—the parts in square brackets [] were omitted as a first warning. Mr. George Smith had been warned before and had obeyed, and now, apparently, obeyed again; Mr. Crichton showed cause why he should remain still for two seasons, and received a protest against his further stay; three others appear to have obeyed the order; but Messrs. Dallas and Corsar 'not having paid proper attention to the

Hon'ble Company's orders', the Council sent them a formal protest.

The Eastern Passage was in more regular use than in former years. The *British King*, arriving March 24th, had come by that route; but when the Council wished to send her, against the south-west monsoon, by the same way homewards, her commander demurred.

Having duly weigh'd the great wear and tear of Sails, Cables and Loss of Anchors the Ship has sustain'd in her Navigation of the Eastern Passage, I think it not for the Interest of the Hon'ble Company she should return that way.

The *Bute* was dispatched from Madras on September 18, 1770, and the Council wished that she should proceed by the Eastern Passage or Pitt's Track; her commander demurred as he had been provided with no charts for that route; she arrived at Canton on July 13, 1771. The same reason was given why the *Stafford* should not take that route. In consequence the Canton Council sent to Madras a set of the charts.

The *Calcutta*, direct from London with orders to call only at St. Helena, called in at Batavia on his way. Being required to give his reason for this neglect of his orders, he answered that it was

on account of my Main Mast's being sprung, all the Ship's Bread damaged, and my People many of them down in the Scurvy, having had very little refreshment at St. Helena . . . it was therefore judged absolutely necessary to put into Batavia, for the safety of the Ship, and the recovery of the People.

The *Duke of Richmond* was under orders to call at Benkulen, and the Council there wrote on August 7th that she was overdue, that 500 tons of pepper were waiting for her, and that she would have to proceed by Pitt's Passage if she would save her passage; but on September 21st she arrived at Macao, without her cargo, and her commander explained matters as follows :

I fell in considerably [$13\frac{1}{2}$ degrees] to Leeward of Java Head, and all my People being in a most miserable condition with the Scurvy, indeed to such an extraordinary degree, that I had not one Man in health to stand the Deck, so that having no kind of probability of getting to Bencoolen, or by any means in a condition to attempt to beat up, the Ship being at the same Time very leaky, we determined as most advisable for the safety of the Ship to bear away for Acheen for refreshment, and proceed through the Straits of Malacca for China. . . . I sailed from Malacca the 30th of August.

Of the foreign ships the Dutch in the winter 1770-71 contracted for 14,000 piculs of Bohea at Tls. 13.50, and for some raw silk, quantity and price unknown. The French contracted for 5,500 piculs of Bohea at Tls. 14, for 2,100 piculs of Singlo and Twankay without fixing the price, and for some raw silk. The Court of Directors wrote, apparently, enjoining on the supercargoes the necessity of guarding against a possible rupture with France. On January 24, 1772, the Council wrote:

We mentioned in our last our intention to dispatch the Calcutta Cruttenden and Thames with all possible expedition and had loaded the Calcutta in pursuance thereof, when finding the two French Ships were to sail much about the same time, we came to a resolution to dispatch the three Ships together with the York in Company, with orders not to separate before they shall be clear of Java Head, to avoid any risque from the two French Ships, which might be the case were we to dispatch ours separately, and they meet with intelligence of a Rupture between our two Nations. As we are order'd in the third Paragraph of our Instructions dated the 1st of March, 1771, to be very vigilant and attentive for the security of your Shipping and Property under our management, we flatter ourselves this precaution will be very agreeable to your Honors should it even hereafter prove not to have been necessary.

On September 23, 1771, a small vessel arrived at Macao commanded by a Hungarian, Baron Maurice Augusto Aladar Benyorsky.

It seems beyond doubt he is come from Kamskatzka, but by what track, or his Motive, we have only what he pleases to say, being the only person who speaks about their Concerns, and he very reserv'd.

He claimed French protection, but the Chinese refused to grant him permission to come to Canton on the alleged ground that he was a Russian.

The Fort William Council, by reason of the warning given by the Canton Council, wrote on May 23, 1771:

In consequence of your caution concerning Ophium, we have forbidden by Public Advertisement, the shipping that Article on any Company's Vessel bound from this Port to China.

The Canton Council wrote on March 8, 1772, on the ill success of their efforts to procure at Peking any observation of the Transit of Venus, for which the Royal Society had applied.

CVII

DELAY IN ISSUING GRAND CHOP, 1772

FOR the season 1772 the Diary has been preserved, but the Letter Book is missing. The Council was composed as follows:

Alexander Hume (Chief).	Edward Phipps.
Francis Wood, Jun.	William Rous.
Thomas Bevan.	William Harrison.
Matthew Raper, Jun.	John Bradby Blake.
James Bradshaw.	William Henry Pigou.
George Rogers (joined Council on July 21st).	

Messrs. Rous and Bevan returned invalided to England at the close of the season, February 15, 1773. Messrs. George Cuming, Charles Edward Pigou, John Harrison, and Alexander Bruce, writers, Dr. Thomas Hutton, surgeon to the factory, and Messrs. Joseph da Silva and Ippolite Lucido arrived by the direct ships from London. Payments were made during the season as follows:

Oct. 14. To Mr. Rogers his	5th year's Salary as Writer .	Ta ^s 300
" [Abraham] Roebuck 2nd	" " " "	300
" [Henry] Browne 2nd	" " " "	300
Feb. 10. To Messrs. Joseph da Silva & Ippolite Lucido agreeable to . . . our Instructions from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, dated the 22nd January, 1772		450

The books were opened on March 9, 1772, with the following balances:

Cr. by Silver in the Treasury	Tls. 191,796	
Bohea Tea, 5,904 chests, 15,456 piculs	" 182,304	
Factory account, cash in hand	" 2,334	
Puan Khequa, debt to the Company	190,805	
Yngshaw " "	87,603	
Wayqua " "	11,726	
Other Merchants " "	33,039	
	323,173	
	699,607	
Dr. to Chinese Merchants	40,820	
	Net Credit Balance	Tls. 658,787

During the season the Company loaded thirteen ships for London with tea, besides about 1,426 piculs of raw silk. Of the ships five were dispatched from London direct, five via Madras,

two via Benkulen, and one came from Bombay. Their inward ladings on Company's account realized the following sums:

				<i>Cost f.o.b.</i>	<i>Realized Taels.</i>	<i>Per cent. Profit + Loss —</i>
Cloth	.	Half-cloths	8,115	£ 84,037	228,505	—9·4
Long Ells	.	Pieces	20,013	£ 47,461	135,539	—4·9
Lead	.	Piculs	25,985	£ 28,584	90,948	+6·2
				£160,082	454,992	—5·3
Pepper	.	Piculs	11,845	\$162,363	155,234	
Cotton	.	"	750	Rup. 9,277	6,746	
Redwood	.	"	1,960	Pag. 2,352	7,841	
Sandalwood	.	"	1,748	Rup. 22,724	35,110	
Sundries	.	"	..	..	2,357	
					207,288	

It is to be observed that on the English products the loss is increased by the amount of freight, insurance, interest, and other charges. The out-turn of the cloth was as follows:

Superfines,	75,284 yards at Tls. 1·90	.	.	.	Tls. 148,038
Supers,	42,137 " " 1·30	.	.	.	" 54,776
Worstors,	34,101 " " 0·90	.	.	.	" 32,690

The Company's ships brought silver in the following quantities:

	<i>Conventional Equivalent.</i>
from London:	
175 chests—610,400 oz. at 5s. 7½d. £172,550	Tls. 505,298
from Madras:	
Rupees 225,474 at 350 = Pag. 64,421	.. 69,574
	574,872

The rupees which came from Madras had originally come in specie and in bills from Bombay for Canton. The Fort St. George Council continued to express their deep regret that they could not provide funds for the needs of the Canton investment, but they adopted several ingenious methods of putting money into the Canton treasury by indirect means. Two such methods are best explained in the terms of their letter to the Canton Council, as summarized at Canton:

Messrs. Monckton & Smith have engaged to pay into the Hon'ble Company's Treasury here [Canton] the Sum of One hundred and fifty thousand Dollars in consequence of their having consented that they should send 2500 Bales of Cotton on the Hon'ble Company's Ships

Freight free: Mr. Stratton had engaged to pay in Dollars 38,400 for having the privilege of sending 640 Bales, and Mr. Charles Smith had engaged to pay in Dollars 21,600 for having the privilege of sending 360 Bales on the like terms. Their agreement with them is that for half the amount estimated at 15 Dollars ₹ 10 Pagodas they are to give them Bills on the Hon'ble the Court of Directors at 3 Years Sight at the exchange of 8s. 5d. ₹ Pagoda, and that for the other half we [Canton] also to grant them Bills at the Company's stated Exchange at Canton for the present Year: they have further consented that Messrs. Sullivan & De Souza shall be permitted to send 1000 Candies of Tin Freight free from thence on the Company's Ships they paying the produce into our [Canton] Cash for Bills at the stated Exchange: and that the Company's Ships are to call at Atcheen and Quedah to take what further Tin they may have at those places which they imagine will amount to 2000 Candies more, the produce of which is also to be paid into our Cash on the like terms: that Messrs. Monckton & Smith also inform them that they expect to have 15 to 18 hundred Candies of Tin at Quedah and in the Straits, and offer to pay the produce into our Cash on the like terms.

The amounts paid in at Canton under these Madras agreements for which the Madras Council issued bills on London came to a total of 105,000 dollars = Tls. 75,600. The sums paid in at Canton for which the Canton Council issued bills on London are merged in the general list of bills issued. During the season, bills were issued at Canton on the Court of Directors at 5s. 6d. ₹ dollar at 90 days sight, or any further term not exceeding 365 days allowing interest at the rate of 3 ₹ cent. ₹ annum after the expiration of the first 90 days, for the following amounts (the conversions being as entered in the Diary):

£235,983 = 844,402 Dollars = Tls. 620,860

We are now able to summarize the amount of stock at the disposal of the Canton Council for the investment of the season 1772:

Credit assets carried over from 1771	.	.	.	.	.	Tls. 658,787
Sale of imports: from England	.	.	.	.	Tls. 454,992	
from India	.	.	.	.	„ 207,288	
						„ 662,280
Silver imported: from England and India	.	.	.	.	„ 574,872	
Treasury receipts: under Indian agreements				„ 75,600		
Bills on England	.			„ 620,860		
						„ 696,460
						Tls. 2,592,399

The system of truck, a sale of woollens at the prevailing prices to accompany a purchase of teas at prices to be agreed on, was

continued. Between February 3 and 6, 1773, contracts were made for the season 1773 as follows:

	Woollens. Eighths.	Bohea. Piculs.	H. Skins & Twankay. Piculs.	Singlo. Piculs.	Hyson. Piculs.
Puan Khequa	2	3,000	2,500	1,500	500
Yngshaw	2	3,500	1,400	2,000	500
Tinqa	1	1,500	870	750	160
Chowqua	1	1,500	610	1,020	75
Munqua	1	1,500	730	900	65
Kewshaw	1	1,500	650	850	75
	8	12,500	6,760	7,020	1,375

Bohea at Tls. 13.50 & 14, advance Tls. 6

Twankay " 23 " " 12

Singlo " 19 & 21, " " 12

Hyson Skins " 28 & 29, no advance

Hyson " 58, "

Bohea, delivery to begin in 260 days, to end in 290 days (Nov. 22)

Green teas, " " 270 " " 310 " (Dec. 12)

In addition winter tea to the amount of 5,220 piculs of Bohea was bought on February 9th at Tls. 11 a picul.

Of raw silk in the season 1772 about 1,300 piculs were supplied by Puan Khequa, 70 piculs by Shykinqua, 21 piculs by Howqua, and 35 piculs by Ayew, who also supplied 12,500 pieces of Nankeens at Tls. 0.380 a piece.

A contract was made with Sinqua on August 19th for china-ware 'to be delivered early for the Ships of next Season' (presumably for delivery in the autumn of 1773, since they could not be delivered in the autumn next following), in the quantities as follows:

	Tls.
350 Table Services, long dishes, blue & white . . . each set	12.6.0.0.
(ea. 18 dishes 8 to 18 in. 60 plates, 20 soup plates, 1 tureen to 2 sets.)	
100 Table Services, round dishes, blue & white . . . "	10.0.0.0.
300 sets Salad Dishes, 4 of sizes 9 to 12 in. . . "	6.0.0.
45 Bowls, size 2 gallons . . . each	1.0.0.0.
45 " " 1½ " . . . "	8.0.0.
105 " " 4 quarts . . . "	3.0.0.
300 " " 3 " . . . "	2.5.0.
900 " " 2 " . . . "	1.5.0.
1,650 " " 3 pints . . . "	1.2.0.
2,550 " " 1 quart . . . "	0.9.0.
3,150 " " 1½ pints . . . "	0.7.0.
16,000 Basons, " 1 " . . . "	0.4.8.
20,000 " " ½ " . . . "	0.3.4.
5,000 Breakfast Cups & Saucers . . . pair	0.7.5.

		Tls.
80,000 Single Plates, blue & white	each	0.3.3.
2,000 Soup Plates	"	0.4.3.
5,000 Flat Water Plates	"	0.2.4.
8,100 Deep Water Saucers	"	0.2.6.
1,800 Sugar Dishes & Tops	"	0.7.0.
7,500 Coffee Cans	"	0.1.4.
1,050 Tea Pots	"	1.0.0.
750 Milk Ewers	"	1.0.0.
750 Sets of 3 Patty Pans	set	1.5.0.
360 Tea Services (43 pieces each)	"	1.0.0.0.
39,000 Large Tea Cups & Saucers	pair	0.4.2.
87,000 Small	"	0.2.6.
2,400 sets of long Dishes, 10. 11. 12 inches	set	5.5.0.
600 " round	"	4.5.0.

The sum involved under the contract was a total of Tls. 17,780 to provide the flooring for the teas.

The private trade was much on the ordinary lines. The following may serve as examples:

- Fox*: Captain: Hyson tea, 100 chests
 Chinaware, 95 half-chests, boxes and rolls
 Lacquered ware, 4 boxes
 Officers: Hyson, 44 chests: chinaware, 53 boxes
- London*: Captain: Hyson, 90 chests
 Chinaware, 16 boxes and tubs
 Lacquered ware, 6 cases
 Paper prints, painted glass, images, 8 cases
 Soy, 1 cask: sweetmeats, 3 boxes
 Madeira, 2 pipes, 1 chest
 Officers: Hyson, 30 chests
 Chinaware, 30 boxes and tubs
 Lacquered ware, prints & sundries, 25 chests

The supercargoes on the Council were modest in their shipments. The Chief, Mr. Hume, shipped by various ships 4 chests of Hyson; Mr. Phipps, 5 chests and 14 boxes of Hyson and Souchong; Mr. Rogers, 2 chests and 1 box of Hyson.

Although the Council was now resident and continuous, the accounts for each ship were still kept distinct. When winter teas or other part of the investment were brought into the factory before the arrival of the ships of the season, they were ear-marked as for Ship No. 1, Ship No. 2, and so on. On September 7th is the entry:

Shipped for the Granby Bohea packed for Ship No. 1. The Bohea packed the Congous & Souchongs received are according to their numbers to be shipped on the respective Ships agreeable to their Arrival [according to their date of arrival].

On August 1st, five men from the Dutch ship *Rynsburg* arrived at Canton and reported that they were the only survivors from the ship, which had foundered in fifteen fathoms while at anchor during a typhoon on July 17th; she was deeply laden, with all her ports open, and filled in the heavy sea. These five were cast on shore near the Mandarin's Cap, from which place they were conducted to Canton, being 'Maintained at the Emperor's Expence'. Scurvy also levied its toll. The *Havannah* had orders from the Council at Benkulen to call in at Mannah to complete her lading of pepper, and for his failure to do so her commander pleaded that

he had 38 seamen sick, and hourly falling down, and constant rains that he was afraid to undertake it, as it must have detained him long, and have killed many of his people.

The trade of the port in the principal staples (mainly as reported by the Linguists) was as follows:

	<i>English.</i>		<i>Dutch.</i>	<i>French.</i>	<i>Danish.</i>	<i>Swedish.</i>
	<i>Company.</i>	<i>Country.</i>				
No. of Ships . .	13	4	4	3	2	2
<i>Imports.</i>						
Cloth, Hf. pieces .	8,138	..	20	395	34	30
Camlets, Pieces .	..	..	13	12	8	..
Long Ells, ..	19,019	..	..	40	..	..
Lead, Piculs .	29,196	..	1,627	364	5,592	4,333
Flints, ..	5,310	..	..	..	..	..
Rabbit Skins, Pieces	28,280	..	..	..	..	..
Clocks, ..	14	..	..	..	..	..
Mirrors, ..	562	..	11	228	..	..
Tin, Piculs .	14,879	4,359	7,035	117	..	..
Cotton, ..	20,506	8,018	..	..	155	..
Pepper, ..	13,736	..	10,223	..	..	..
Sandalwood, ..	6,699	5	890	..	..	..
Redwood & Ebony ..	9,547	..	..	4,901	..	..
Silver Dollars, Chests	199	1	23	158	77	78
<i>Exports.</i>						
	About					
Tea, Piculs .	69,000	66	36,635	22,663	22,497	20,602
Raw Silk, ..	1,426	105	620	263	..	..
Woven Silks, Pieces	..	668	4,146	1,837	985	1,068
Chinaware, Piculs .	?	1,211	2,372	1,400	1,470	1,887
Tutenague, ..	..	987	..	..	401	..

N.B. Silver imported (exclusive of Spanish and Portuguese ships) 536 chests = 2,144,000 dollars = Tls. 1,543,680.

The quantity of tea shipped by the *Fox*, a medium-sized ship, has been computed and found to be 3,400 piculs of black tea and 1,915 piculs of green, a total of 5,315 piculs (708,667 lb.) for a ship of 758 tons burthen, builder's measurement. The average lading of tea for each ship of the Continental nations was:

Dutch,	9,159 piculs	(1,221,200 lb.)
French,	7,554 ..	(987,200 lb.)
Danish,	11,248 ..	(1,499,733 lb.)
Swedish,	10,301 ..	(1,373,133 lb.)

The inference is that the French ships at this date had one and a half times the carrying capacity of the English, and the other nations twice.

In November two of the Company's ships were detained by the failure of the Hoppo to issue the Grand Chops,

which are detained on account of the Merchants not having yet paid the Duties due on these two Ships which the Hoppo insists shall be cleared before their departure, and which he early in the Season informed them of. They also have had a notice of more than 15 days to get the Chops out for these two Ships.

The Council resolved, since the delay was occasioned by no fault of themselves or of the ships, to petition the Viceroy and the Hoppo; and, since the Grand Chop was withheld as was alleged by neglect in paying the Emperor's duties, they declared their readiness to be securities for the Company's ships and to be answerable for any duties that might become due on them. Two days later they

sent the letter of Complaint relative to the Granby and London's detention into the City: In the afternoon the Linguist returned with a message from the Hoppo's Secretary desiring that we would not insist on the delivery of the Petition that day as it would cause the Hoppo a great deal of trouble, and as he could assure us we should have the Grand Chops for our two Ships the next day.

The Grand Chops were received the next day; and the inference is that the delay was occasioned, not by any failure to pay the Emperor's duties, but by an endeavour to evade the payment of irregular perquisites or exactions claimed by some subordinate officer, possibly the Hoppo's Secretary. On December 23rd the Dutch dispatched their last two ships, which were ready to sail on the 16th, but had been kept waiting seven days for their Grand Chops.

Information was received that the galleon from Manila bound

to Acapulco had lost her passage and returned to Manila; 'the same Circumstances happened last year'.

The Council again made an attempt to carry out the instructions of the Court of Directors that no 'private English' were to be permitted to reside in China from year to year. One measure they debated, but decided that its adoption might entail some danger in other directions.

Nov. 9. As it appears to the Council an application to the Chinese or Portuguese Government of Macao, relative to private persons remaining the year round in China, as ordered by our Instructions, might prove in its end of very disagreeable consequences, by pointing out a method to the Chinese of removing out of this Country any member of the Council, as well as any Private Trader who might be esteemed by them a troublesome person, between whom they would not make the least distinction: and as the Portuguese are extremely cautious of interfering in any concerns either of Chinese or Strangers, & would be especially so in an affair of this nature, wherein the Chinese by a Sum of Money properly placed might be induced to interpose: we apprehend an application to them cannot have the desired effect on these considerations, it was thought proper to wave these orders for the present, & to write to such Gentlemen who reside here on private account in the same manner as last year.

The Council accordingly wrote on January 7, 1773, to Dr. John Laird, informing him of the Court's orders; and on February 13th they sent to Mr. John Crichton and to Mr. George Smith formal protests against them for their continued stay in China. Mr. John Corsar had sailed for London on December 17, 1772, and Dr. Laird left on January 11, 1773.

In August 1772 and again in November the Council petitioned the Viceroy and Hoppo asking that pressure should be exerted to induce Wayqua to liquidate his debt to the Company; on each occasion the Hoppo returned a verbal answer that he had given the necessary orders to the Namhoi Hien, but the debt was not paid.¹ In July the Council, having occasion to write from Macao to Puan Khequa at Canton regarding his contract for silk, addressed to him a letter in Portuguese; his reply was received in Spanish.

In July the Council took steps to retain a factory at Macao, which appears to be the first since they became a permanent resident Council.

Agreed with Antonio Jozé da Costa for a lease of his large House on the Pria [Praya] Grande and the upper house for the term of three

¹ Cf. vol. ii, p. 25.

years . . . at the rate of Four Hundred and Fifty Spanish Dollars ₧ Annum for the two Houses to be in our Option to prolong the lease for two years more.

The danger of a conflagration was always present in Canton, with its houses flimsily constructed, its rabbit warrens of narrow streets, and its numerous fires for cooking in open pots. On February 7, 1773, about six in the evening, a fire was observed at about a quarter of a mile from the factories:

It being to windward, and not having had any rain for a long time the houses were very dry, and ready to catch fire. . . . Immediately Boats were ordered to the Factory Stairs & 124 Bales of Raw Silk that were in the Factory to be shipped the following day were put into one of them, the fire burnt with great fury, and made a rapid progress towards our Factories, when the Hon'ble Company's Books & Papers were put into another boat, it at last reached our two Factories, and both were on fire but by great diligence & perseverance the Factories were saved, the Swedes and French Factories also took fire: Shy Kinqua's Factory adjoining to one of the Hon'ble Company's (Lunsoon) was entirely consumed, and the shops adjoining to the other (Poho) were burnt, fortunately the Pinnacle of the Royal Henry happened to be up, her Crew were of great assistance, it is computed 430 Houses were burnt. . . . It was expected that not only both the Hon'ble Company's Factories but that every Factory upon the Quay would have been burnt[:] the fire continued till near daylight.

This is the earliest clear intimation that the English Company wholly occupied two of the thirteen hong's.

Notwithstanding the fact that England and France were not at war there was constant friction, and frequent quarrels, between the English and French sailors at Whampoa. On September 22nd M. Hay, Chief of the French supercargoes, accompanied by the commanders of two of his ships, came to the English factory

and related that a fray had happened between some of our seamen and theirs on Sunday last upon French Island, wherein several on both sides were beat, and that the Chinese Mandareen who is placed there on Sundays to keep peace narrowly escaped receiving a blow with a stick levelled at him by an English Seaman but warded off by one of their Surgeons Mates which otherwise might have proved fatal. . . . The French by their own account were the original Aggressors by having placed a Centry to prevent persons from passing the Front of their Banksalls which had not been customary in former years, and only left the passage behind, which altho' it may be equally good, yet compulsion is sometimes disagreeable. . . . Later two of the Linguists came with a message from the Mandareen at Whampoa [the Punyü Hien] . . . he had

not made a publick report thereof to the Tsongtoc, but should be under a necessity of doing so on a like occasion hereafter. . . . It was resolved to write to each of the [English] Commanders a repetition of that part of our Letter to them on their arrival, not to suffer their People on any account to go to French Island.

On December 17th an affray occurred at the factories between English sailors and Chinese.

The Fourth Officer of the *Lord Camden* having indiscreetly incurred several Debts which were not in his power to discharge complaint thereof was made to his Commander who afterwards on concluding everything was settled to the Satisfaction of his Creditors ordered him on board: This afternoon as the Officer was going to embark he was seized by his Creditors between the Factory Gate & Boat in consequence whereof a fray ensued in which a Chinese and some Europeans were wounded, also the Officer much hurt. The Chinese was brought into Capt. Reddall's Factory and in a short space of time two Mandareens of Justice attended. . . . They order'd the Chinese to remain in the Factory which was complied with, & also insisted that the Officer should not be suffered to leave Canton.

The *Lord Camden* had received her Grand Chop, and the Council were ready to dispatch her, but she had not received her Chop for a Pilot. The next day Munqua, her Security Merchant, brought a message from the Viceroy

to acquaint us he should not suffer that Ship to depart, till he was assured of the recovery of the wounded Chinese, & to demand that the Grand Chop, which had been in our possession two days should be returned.

The Grand Chop was returned forthwith in conformity with the Viceroy's demand; and Captain Reddall was informed that his ship was considered to have been dispatched on the evening of December 17th, and that, for the consequences of any further delay, his owners would be held responsible. Nineteen days, until January 5, 1773, the ship was detained, and then

Munqua came to the Factory, and said he had been ordered by the Hoppo to inform us that he (the Hoppo) had been with the Tsongtoc last night requesting the Grand Chop for the *Lord Camden*'s dispatch: that the Tsontoc was satisfied the two wounded persons were out of danger, & would not have the Ship detained any longer than was necessary for the report to come to him from the lower Courts, which he would dispatch as soon as he received it, to the Hoppo: that at present it remained with the Anchaseh: The Hoppo also waited on the Anchaseh who promised him all possible dispatch: and that he (the Hoppo) being always desirous rather to forward, than to impede our business in every thing which his office had had the direction of, should

send the Grand Chop to the Security Merchant immediately on his receiving it from the Tsongtoc: That he wished to assist all Foreigners on every occasion but more especially the English whose number of Ships and Trade to this place were so very capital.

There is no record when the *Lord Camden* actually sailed, but it was probably not long after this; and, to the Company or the owner, the loss was in that case limited to twenty days demurrage on the tonnage of the ship.

On August 5, 1772, a letter was received from the Presidency of Fort William, dated April 13th,

informing us of Mr. Cartier's having that Day resigned the Government and been succeeded by Mr. Hastings.

CVIII

THE CASE OF FRANCIS SCOTT, 1773

FOR the season 1773 the Letter Book has been preserved, but not the Diary; by this we lose most of the commercial detail, as the Council, in their reports to the Court of Directors, commonly end many paragraphs by referring the Court to the Diary, or to various commercial papers, 'which go a number in this packet'.

The Council, which has been 'resident' for some years, has now become definitely permanent. It received no accessions during the year and was constituted as follows:

Alexander Hume, Chief.	Edward Phipps.
Francis Wood, Jun.	William Harrison.
Matthew Raper, Jun.	John Bradby Blake.
James Bradshaw.	William Henry Pigou.
George Rogers.	

Mr. Blake died on November 16th; and Messrs. Hume and Bradshaw returned to England for reasons of health. The Council was thus reduced to six, with Mr. Phipps as Chief. Mr. George Du Cane, writer, had been 'continually ill since his arrival in China', and left for England.

During the season the Company loaded nine ships for London with tea and 2,082 piculs of raw silk; of these three came direct or calling only at St. Helena, two came via Benkulen, and four via Madras. In addition, one, the *Royal Charlotte*, came from Bombay, and at Canton was sublet to her commander for a year; and one, the grab *Devonshire*, came from Balambangan and returned thither. There are no particulars of the trade done, except the inward lading of the *Royal Charlotte*, by which the Bombay Presidency supplied the following stock:

Cotton,	814 piculs, sold at ½ picul, Tls. 11 . . .	Tls. 8,956
Pepper,	324 " " " " 15 . . .	4,852
Sandalwood, 1,734	" " " " 23 . . .	39,890
Silver, 160,000 Bombay rupees, actual out-turn	. . .	49,002
		102,700
Also remitted ½ Bill drawn by John Hunter Esq. on Mr. John Crichton, 230,000 Bombay rupees at exchange Tls. 100 equal B. Rup. 306 . . .	. . .	75,163
Also a single Pearl valued at B. Rup. 14,000 . . .	. . .	4,575
		182,438
The same Presidency later sent 17,120 Dollars . . .	. . .	12,290
Total from Bombay . . .	. . .	Tls. 194,728

The supercargoes received by the two ships from Benkulen in specie 28,000 dollars = Tls. 20,160; and pepper, 5,554 piculs, sold at Tls. 14, realized Tls. 77,756. Certificates were issued to the captains and officers of three ships for a total of 46,426 dollars; and bills of exchange on the Court of Directors for £19,800 were issued in fulfilment of agreements made at Fort St. George for the shipment of produce freight-free. No other particulars are given of the methods by which the stock was provided for the investment of the year; but on September 17th a letter was received, dated at Fort William June 21, 1773, and signed by the Council of Bengal, seven members with Mr. Warren Hastings as Chief, as follows:

The Hon'ble Court of Directors having enjoined us to use every means in our power to afford you supplies of Cash for carrying on their important branch of Trade under your management, We have attentively been considering a Plan for this purpose and the only modes which appear to us eligible and likely to answer the desired end without proving an actual drain of our Specie are the advancing money here to Private Merchants to be repaid into your Cash at Canton and the Receipt of money by you for Bills on us We have made these our intentions publick and we request as a matter of important consideration to our Hon'ble Employers that you will take up all monies you can procure for Bills to be granted on us at 30 Days sight Excg'e 100 C.R. for 41 Weighty Dollars and to bear an interest of 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ Cent $\frac{1}{2}$ Annum for [from] the day of date untill paid, and You may be assured of our duly honoring these Bills to any amount you can obtain.

To the first plan there was no response; nor was there to the second, of which a modification was successful¹ in 1776, but on this occasion the Canton Council reported to the Court of Directors that

We endeavoured to procure money for Bills [on Bengal] but without success several persons here were desirous of drawing upon Bengal but not one chose to remit.

The Court of Directors had for some years past been overstocked with tea in London, in one year (1771) receiving from Canton no less than 106,000 piculs (14,000,000 lb.) and in that same year being threatened with the illicit introduction of some 70,734 piculs (9,500,000 lb.) originally imported into France, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden.² Besides attempting to unload some of the stock on the American colonies,

¹ Cf. vol. ii, p. 7.

² Cf. *antea*, p. 156.

they took prompt measures to diminish the quantities sent from Canton.

On the arrival of the Duke of Kingston the 23rd of July we were not a little surprised at the Contents of the List of Investment for this Season we had been very Cautious in contracting for or providing a large quantity of Teas for the Ships of this Year having been ordered in last years instructions not to provide for more than Ten, we had concluded our provision was considerably within bounds instead of Peculs 18,000 of Twankay & Singlo we had contracted for the preceding year for this we had only for 12,500 the whole of which except 500 Peculs of first Singlo were on account of the Woolens the quantity of Hyson Skins contracted for was also much Less than that usually ordered and for the Hyson of which 2000 Peculs had been annually ordered for some years past we had not contracted near to the full amount: We immediately considered the best method to put your Honors orders into execution with respect of getting off our hands some of the Teas we had engaged for[:] the Council were at this time at Macao but had sent for the Chop and Boats to return to Canton. . . . We had an opportunity of applying to Foreigners but apprehended that [they] had previous to their departure from Canton contracted for as much Tea as they might [be] authorised or judge proper to do that our offering Teas to them would only be depreciating our Goods. . . . As expeditiously as we could we informed the Merchants of the Hon'ble Companys pleasure, we applied to each separately but their answers mostly tended the same way every one pretended he had more than sufficient to supply his Contract both with us and Foreigners some to have even exceeded very considerably in hopes that we should have wanted to purchase an additional quantity that our information was a great disappointment.

The Merchants had the prospect of suffering heavy loss if they increased their surplus stock by any teas taken back from the English. On the arrival of the country ships

we immediately applied to their Supra Cargoes and then to the Foreign Supra Cargoes some replied their Boheas were provided before their Residents went to Macao others that they purchased their Green Teas on the market at market prices. . . . Thus our endeavours have met with no success.

This was written on November 20th; by January 10, 1774, the Council reported that, while they had not been able to unload any teas on the foreigners, they had persuaded the Chinese Merchants to cancel contracts for 611 chests of Hyson (Tls. 58 a picul) and 947 piculs of Singlo and Twankay. At the same time by additional purchases they had increased the investment in raw silk from 1,600 to 2,082 piculs, all at Tls. 272.50 a picul. On the arrangements for next season, in the uncertainty as to quantities, the Council wrote:

The material object of disposing of the Woollens expected by the Ships of next Season, and contracting for Raw Silk for the same year having for a considerable time past attracted a great share of our attention, in what manner it was best to effect it rendered the more difficult by our present situation as we cannot contract to receive Goods to any considerable amount in return for the Woollens. The several Merchants at times were repeatedly applied to and informed that as to Singlo we could not contract for any and only for a small quantity of Bohea, the Honorable Company having already a very large quantity of Teas in England. . . . The Woollens expected by the Ships of the ensuing Season have been disposed of at the usual prices

to Puan Khequa 5/8

Chowqua 1/8

Munqua 1/8

Kewshaw 1/8

And [we] have contracted for Teas to receive in part payment thereof

Bohea	7500 piculs at Tls. 14	} Advance Tls. 6: increase of Tls. 1.50 in price if advance not made at once.
4500	" " 13.5	
12,000		

These Contracts to be delivered by the end of November.

We have also contracted for a 1000 Peculs Raw Silk and 500 optional. The Merchant with whom we have engaged at first made a difficulty to contract for any Large quantity proposing only 500 Peculs, but gradually rose to offer to contract for Peculs 1000 at Present for which he proposed T. 275 $\frac{3}{4}$ Pecul but at length reduced his price and terms to the same as this season T. 272.5 with a present advance of T. 257.5 and has agreed to make an optional Contract as far as 500 Peculs with five Tales additional price to be determined by the Council on the arrival of the first Ship from England.

These were measures adopted to diminish the quantity of tea shipped during the season; but the Court of Directors took further steps to reduce the number of ships which were originally destined to be laden at Canton, and they sent instructions to the Councils of Madras and Canton to re-charter some of the ships which had already been chartered for the Company. The Governor and Council of Fort St. George wrote on July 6th (received on September 3rd):

In consequence of the Directions from the Hon'ble Court . . . we have agreed to let to Freight their Ship Huntingdon to Mr. George Smith at the rate of twenty pounds and one shilling Sterling $\frac{3}{4}$ day the ship to be delivered up to you in the month of September 1774 and the Freight to be accounted for in the following manner that is to say the Pagoda to be estimated at eight Shillings & the whole of Freight to be paid in the Currency of the Month of December 1774 estimating 15 Spanish Dollars for 10 Pagodas.

In the meantime, on August 20th, the Council at Canton had agreed with Captain John Clements, commander of the *Royal*

Charlotte, to charter the ship which he commanded at an agreed sum of twelve months demurrage, and to 'return the ship to Whampoa in proper time to be dispatched from hence the ensuing Season'. The demurrage of the ship was £18 3s. a day, which amounted to £6,625 for 365 days. At the same time the Council reported: 'We endeavoured to dispose of another Ship upon Freight but could not succeed'.

There were the usual complaints of the ravages of scurvy. Ships generally were forbidden to call in at Batavia unless it was certain that their departure thence would be not later than May 31st. The *Stormont* (arrived at Whampoa September 22nd) contravened this order, and in explanation the commander reported that on making Java Head it was found that his foremast was sprung, and in addition

At that time above thirty of my Ship's Company were down in the Scurvy and other dangerous complaints. My Carpenter and both his Mates sick as also my Surgeon & his Mate & my people falling down daily.

The usual letters of protest against their continued residence in China were sent to Messrs. John Crichton, Abraham Leslie, George Smith, and William Dalrymple. The first two promised compliance during the current season; Mr. Dalrymple pleaded the state of his health as his reason for coming to China and for staying on; Mr. George Smith answered shortly:

I have received your Letter of the 13th Current. I am sorry to reply that the state of my affairs in China will not permit me to leave it this Season.

On the arrival of each of the Company's ships her commander received from the Council a letter of instructions giving him orders for the guidance of himself and his ship's company. They were not to exceed their allotted quota of private trade, were not to take camphor or musk on board, were to report the passengers they brought or carried away, were not to go a-shooting or to allow others to go, were not to allow their sailors to land on French Island but to restrict them to Danes Island, were not to carry goods or silver in the 'Pinnace with the Flag', that before dispatch he was to report that he had not less than thirty-five barrels of serviceable gunpowder on board, and many other injunctions relating to the ship and her equipment. Among the regulations in this season were three of some importance relating to the private trade.

The Hon'ble Court of Directors having received intimation that the Commanders have contrary to their orders made use of Foreign Companies and their Agents to make remittances from Canton, We are positively ordered to repeat that you are forbid making use of any foreign Channels for remitting Money to Europe under pain of absolute dismissal and as it is impossible that these illicit practices should remain long secret we shall be under the necessity of transmitting to the Hon'ble Company an account thereof.

Since the dissolution of the Conghong many persons have presented themselves to deal with Europeans who previous to that event where [were] entire Strangers in consequence thereof several bad debts have been contracted; By a regulation nearly of as long standing as the European trade to this Port Hong Merchants were appointed to trade with Europeans, however trading with other persons may have been and is at present connived at Several applications having been made to the Chinese Government since the above mentioned period for the recovery of bad debts the Hoppo in order to discourage and even prevent such applications has desired us to inform the Commanders and that they will inform the Officers of their respective Ships that he shall not deem either Commanders or Officers legally entitled to sue for bad debts except contracted by Hong Merchants or such persons as either by a Hong Merchant or Head Linguist you or they may be informed are trust worthy. The Hoppo does not mean to prevent you or your Officers from dealing with whomsoever either of you may think proper but to point out the necessity of being very cautious and that if you or your Officers deal with persons indiscriminately without first being informed of their validity you or they must stand to the consequence of any bad debts thereby incurred and not to expect his assistance to recover them.

We caution you to give strict charge to your Officers not to incur debts to the Chinese which before their departure from Canton they may not be able to discharge, such a circumstance having already happened and occasioned a considerable detention to one of the Hon'ble Company's Ships after her being dispatched, and we give you notice that the Hon'ble Company will expect satisfaction from you and the Owners of your Ship for any detention or embarrassment in their affairs that may proceed from such behaviour.

Debts owed by the Hong Merchants to the Council they occasionally were slow to pay. It had been the practice that all debts to the Company were settled before the supercargoes went down to Macao; but on September 2nd they addressed a petition to the Viceroy and the Hoppo, stating that, at the time of their departure for Macao, two Hong Merchants owed them money, Sy Anqua Tls. 17,025 and Teowqua Tls. 13,300, for which the Council accepted bonds for the payment on their return to Canton; that they had now been back many days, but payment had not been made; and they prayed that an

order should be issued for prompt payment. The Merchants pleaded that the apparent debt represented one element in a transaction in truck; to which the Council replied that the transactions referred to, a sale of woollens against a purchase of tea, had been completed and that there still remained the balances reported in favour of the Company. In the course of their reply to the Viceroy, under date of September 26th, the Council stated that

with respect to his alledging that our reason for refusing his Teas [was] because our Ships were full we beg leave to observe to your Excellencies we have now ready to ship as soon as the Ships shall be ready to receive them on board upwards of 150,000 Peculs [of tea].

The Council on November 5th again petitioned the Viceroy and Hoppo, urging speed in settling the debts, and again on January 5, 1774; the latter petition

was delivered to the Merchants but from Sy Anqua's fair promises from time to time was not presented to the Hoppo but returned to us some Weeks after.

The case of Francis Scott occurred at the close of the season 1772, but it comes into the calendar year 1773. There is no record of the facts either in the Diary for 1772 or in the Letter Book for 1773; and our knowledge of it is derived from Sir John Davis,¹ who bases his narrative on 'A Contribution to a Historical Sketch of Macao, 1834'.

His account is as follows:

In the following year a most atrocious act of sanguinary injustice occurred at Macao, stamping indelible disgrace on the Portuguese of that place. A Chinese had lost his life, and some ungrounded accusation having implicated an Englishman, named Francis Scott, the local authority caused him to be apprehended and confined. The case was tried in the Portuguese court, the accused examined, and depositions of witnesses taken: but the slightest trace of guilt could not be attached to the prisoner. The mandarins, however, obstinately claimed him, and threatened the town in case he was not delivered. To bring this perplexity to a close, a general meeting or Council was convened, and a member of the Macao Senate argued, 'It is unjustifiable to consent to the sacrifice of an innocent man: and as the most accurate inquiry sufficiently proves that the Englishman is not guilty, our reasons for not surrendering him should be submitted to the mandarins, and persevered in until we shall have succeeded in saving him from an ignominious

¹ *The Chinese: a General Description of the Empire of China.* By John Francis Davis. London, 1836.

death'. The vicar-general, however, named Francisco Vaz, argued in the following singular manner;—'Moralists decide that when a tyrant demands even an innocent person, with menaces of ruin to the community if refused, the whole number may call on any individual to deliver himself up for the public good, which is of more worth than the life of an individual. Should he refuse to obey, he is not innocent, he is criminal.' Another Portuguese observed, with still less ceremony, 'The mandarins are forcing away the Chinese dealers determined to starve us: therefore we had better surrender the Englishman'. The plurality of votes decided that Scott should be handed over, and the Chinese put him to death.

The case is not recorded in the supercargoes' proceedings, nor was it deemed of sufficient importance to be reported to the Court of Directors. The Council were brought into it on a side issue only. On February 11th they record:

Received a Letter from the Governor of Macao relating to the situation of Mr. Francis Scott who is in prison there charged with the murder of a Chinese, but according to the Governor's opinion innocent his Letter inclosed a petition to the Tsongtoc wrote in Chinese explaining the circumstances which he desired we would endeavour to have delivered, that he had sent one from Macao, but apprehended it had not been received.

The Council transmitted the petition to the Viceroy by the hands of Puan Khequa, who on the 13th

informed us he had yesterday delivered the Governor of Macao's Petition to the Tsongtoc who had promised to write to the chief Mandareen of Hungshan and order him to make further enquiry relative thereto, and endeavour to discover if any other person, or persons were suspected of having killed the Chinese, besides Mr. Scott.

The Viceroy's attitude in the matter was further explained in a letter which the Council wrote on February 21st to the Governor of Macao, Senhor Diogo Fra Salema de Saldana:

the same person [Puan Khequa] also informed us last [evening] that the Tsongtoc (whom he saw yesterday) was desirous you should also use your endeavour for the same purpose and with as much expedition as possible of which he says the Tsongtoc ordered him to acquaint you, & observ'd that Mr. Scott having been delivered by the Senate as the guilty person that therefore should he not be guilty it would be necessary before he could be released that the guilty person or persons should be discovered, he was told as we are informed that altho Mr. Scott might have been delivered up by the Senate yet it was apprehended the motive proceeded from dread of the consequence of a refusal and not from any conviction of guilt to which it is said he replied that whatever might have been the motive he did not see how he could clear him before the guilt was proved upon others being obliged to attend to the report of a Court of Justice preferable to any other opinion or representation.

The Tsongtoc yesterday returned your letter to the person who delivered it, saying he had considered thoroughly, but not having been delivered to him by a proper Mandareen could not be registered, & therefore did not chuse to keep it among his Papers, the Letter is now in our possession.

The Governor of Macao replied on March 8th:

One of the Mandareens who came into the City to examine into the Murder, said to be committed by Mr. Scott agreed the 2nd of February with the Procurer of the Senate to receive their reasons & objections to delivering him into their hands, on the day following being the third the same was presented to him in writing by a Chinese Merchant named O Qua an Inhabitant in this City employed for this purpose by the said Procurer, but instead of receiving it, was extremely angry with the said Merchant threatened to punish him, and told him to return the said Letter to the Person who had employed him to deliver it in consequence of which the Procurer came and acquainted me with what had passed and delivered me the very same Letter which I received from him, and inclosed it in one from myself to the Tsongtoc, which I took the liberty to forward to you Gentlemen, requesting you would do your best endeavours to get it delivered. I have had the honor to receive your Letter of the 21st February in which you do not take the least notice why the Mandareen refused to receive this Letter from the Person employed by the Procurer of this City, I am therefore to request as a particular Favour you will Gentlemen be so kind to use your endeavours to discover thro' the means of the Tsongtoc the Mandareens reasons for acting so contrary to what he had consented to the 2nd of February.

The Council endeavoured through Puan Khequa to obtain some explanation of the Viceroy's reason for returning the Governor's petition; but that Merchant persisted in refusing to broach the matter to the Viceroy, and, to the last, all he would say was that

if the Mandareen read the [Governor's] Letter he supposes the manner in which it was drawn up was the reason as it does not dwell entirely upon the affair in question.

The dispute between the Viceroy and the Governor was, in appearance, one of form, but it was vital on two points. In the first place the Viceroy refused to receive any communication, even in the form of a petition, from any Outlander Headman (the Portuguese Governor of Macao), unless it passed through the regular Chinese channels; the Portuguese tenants of Macao might give themselves high-sounding titles, they might even give to their chief official a title such as they also gave to the Governor of the province of Kwangtung, but they must clearly understand that in all important matters—such as questions of

sovereignty¹ or those affecting the life of Chinese—they were subordinated to the petty officials stationed at Macao (the Tsotang and the Künming Fu), who in turn were subordinated to the Heungshan Hien, who reported to the Kwangchow Fu, who transmitted his reports to the provincial authorities and so on to the Governor and Viceroy. The last-named official intimated very clearly that he could not, and would not, receive the Portuguese Governor's petition sent so irregularly.

The second point was that the Macao Senate, having handed Francis Scott to Chinese justice, must be assumed to have satisfied themselves of his guilt; whether he were guilty or not, his execution—a life for a life—would satisfy the relatives and neighbours of the murdered man; and if the Senate had afterwards changed their opinion of his guilt, it was incumbent on them to produce another of whose guilt they were now convinced—or at least they must provide a substitute.²

¹ Cf. vol. ii, pp. 369 seqq.; vol. iii, chap. lxiv *passim*.

² Cf. vol. ii, pp. 86, 106; vol. iv, p. 19.

CIX

LONDON MARKET OVERSTOCKED WITH TEA, 1774

For the season 1774 the Council was composed of the same six members holding over from the previous season:

Edward Phipps.	Francis Wood, Jun.
William Harrison.	Matthew Raper, Jun.
William Henry Pigou.	George Rogers.

Mr. Harrison left for England on December 24th, the season closing on January 11th, when the last ship was dispatched. The conditions of life in the factories at Canton are indicated in the following entry:

Sept. 25. Mr. Harrison with the approbation of the Council set out for Macao for an opportunity of taking some exercise, and for the Benefit of Change of Air, having found himself some time past a good deal indisposed.

The books were opened on January 31st with the following balances:

Cr. by Silver in treasury	Tls. 186,773
Bohea tea in stock, 7,229 piculs	„ 99,800
Pearl from Bombay unsold	„ 4,575
Owed by Chinese merchants:	
Puan Khequa	Tls. 163,510
Yngshaw	„ 22,743
Sy Anqua	„ 7,251
Wayqua	„ 11,726
Other merchants	„ 18,494
	223,724
Balance to credit	Tls. 514,872

During the season the Company loaded four ships for London with tea and 1,293 piculs of raw silk. One, the *Royal Charlotte*,¹ had in 1773 been freighted to her commander for a year; one came from Bombay; and two came from London via Madras. From London three ships had been consigned originally to Canton, but one, the *Morse*,² lost her passage and so fell into Volume II. The number of ships loaded at Canton, which had been seventeen in 1769 and thirteen in 1770, had risen to twenty in 1771, was thirteen in 1772, and had fallen to ten in 1773 and now to four in 1774. This was a part of the effort to relieve the glut in the London market, caused by excessive importation in

¹ Cf. *antea*, p. 179.

² Cf. vol. ii, p. 14.

the previous years and the perennial competition of smuggled teas from across the English Channel and the North Sea; the other part of the effort being the attempt to unload the tea on the American colonists on very favourable terms. On September 30, 1773, the Secretary of the East India House, P. Mitchell, wrote to the Canton Council as follows:

On the 8th Instant by the Special Commands of the Court of Directors you were acquainted that in conformity to their earnest desire expressed in the Instructions to you dated the 6th and 27th January last ¹ for Lessening your Purchases of Tea within as small a degree as could possibly be done and as the Court were still under the necessity of adhering to that measure it was their intention not to consign to you this Season more than Three Ships from England which was signified to you by that early opportunity for your availing yourselves thereof in the most advantageous manner for the Company's Service that advice was conveyed to you by the Dutch Ship *S Huys Om* then in the Downes bound to Batavia, and the Commander Captain Christian Reubel gave our Agent at Deale Assurances that he would convey the Letter to you by the first opportunity that should offer for Canton from Batavia after his Arrival at the latter place.

I have now received the Courts further Cominands to apprise you thus early by means of the Swedish Ships bound for Canton that pursuant to such their intention for the destination this Season of three Ships only from hence for China the following are accordingly taken up being first consigned to Fort St. George, viz^t

Ceres	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Capt. Thomas Newte
Morse	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	„ George Kent
True Briton	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	„ John Broadley

The first is appointed to sail the 5th and the two others the 20th December next.

This letter was received on August 9, 1774, and on September 1st the *Ceres* arrived off Macao; the *True Briton* arrived on September 19th; while, as recorded above, the *Morse* lost her passage and became the first ship of the season 1775. While the efforts of the Court of Directors to increase the consumption of tea met with resistance from Falmouth (Portland, Maine) and Boston to Baltimore and Charles Town (Charleston, S.C.), the corresponding action to check the inflow of supplies, though belated, was effectively carried out. The Council had taken prompt action on receipt of their instructions in 1773, and had so far reduced their investment for 1774 that they were able to record their satisfaction on September 8th:

We feel the most sensible pleasure in having confined our tea Contracts

¹ Cf. *antea*, p. 178.

within such limits, as according to a calculation made . . . That after having given full Loadings, for the three Ships consigned this year from Europe, and having a sufficient quantity provided to load on board the Bessborough [from Bombay] . . . as well as the Royal Charlotte let out to freight the last [year], and who is to return this year from hence with a loading for Europe, together with One thousand Peculs Raw Silk . . . 10,000 Pieces of Nankeen Cloth, and 210 half-chests China ware for each Ship, We shall not remain with more than a Surplus of 600 Peculs of Bohea.

The Council had no more than four ships to load, of an actual chartered tonnage of 3,043 tons; and on those ships by a careful computation were laden the following cargoes:

Company's cargo:

Tea: Bohea	.	.	.	.	.	Chests	5,114	Piculs	13,429
Congou	.	.	.	.	.	"	960	"	530
Souchong	.	.	.	.	.	"	250	"	107
Hyson	.	.	.	.	.	"	589	"	299
Hyson Skins	.	.	.	.	.	"	113	"	54
Raw Silk	.	.	.	.	.	Bales	1,692	"	1,293
Chinaware	.	.	.	.	.	Half-chests	479, value Tls.		7,429

Officers' Private Trade:

Tea: Hyson	.	.	.	.	.	Chests	598	Piculs	297
Chinaware	.	.	.	.	.	Chests, Boxes and Rolls	891		
Cassia bark and buds	.	.	.	.	.	Chests	77		
Rhubarb	.	.	.	.	.	"	49		
Pepper	.	.	.	.	.	Bags	44		

Of the Company's cargo the raw silk was bought at Tls. 272-50 ꝑ picul, and the Bohea generally at Tls. 13-50 to 14.

As the Bohea of the season was contracted for, and the sale of the woollens effected, in truck at the close of the preceding season, so the tea for 1775 was provided in the same way. A consultation of December 8th records:

It being obvious that throwing the Woollen Investment into as many hands as possible, ought to be the great object with us, towards promoting and increasing the consumption of that manufacture in this Country has been our inducement for coming to a determination to divide them into eight shares, and as we have no reason to think the quantity imported the last will be increased the ensuing season, to give only One thousand Peculs of Bohea for each share, The Merchants having been sounded at times in general terms respecting these our intentions, and seeming by no means averse to the terms, it was judged expedient to send for them separately to the Council, and to treat with them in consequence of such resolution, They accordingly severally attended and readily agreed to the above proposals which were tender'd to each of them.

Contracted with the Merchants to deliver them Woolens expected the

ensuing season at the usual Prices, and to receive Teas with a present advance of 6 Tales ₹ Pecul

	Woolens. Eighths.	Bohea. Peculs.	Price ₹ Pecul.
Kewshaw	1	1,000	Tls. 13.50
Munqua	1	1,000	„ 13.50
Chowqua	1	1,000	„ 13.50
Tinqua	1	1,000	„ 14.00
Puan Khequa	2	2,000	„ 14.00
Yngshaw	2	2,000	„ 14.00

The delivery of the above Teas is to begin in 314 Days (the 18th October) to finish in 339 Days (12th November). The Merchants were desired to observe that we had not for this season attempted either to raise the Prices of the Woolens, nor lower those of the Teas, but as we had with great concern for some years past observed the declining state of the Bohea, which tho' to little purpose had been constantly represented, we were now resolved to insist on a better quality in the future. . . . Also contracted with Puan Khequa for 5 @ 600 Peculs Raw Silk at 272.5 with a present advance of 240 Tales ₹ Pecul to begin to deliver it in 302 days (Oct. 6) and to finish the delivery of the whole in 367 days (Dec. 10) and have further made an Optional Contract with him for 1000 Peculs—500 P. at Tls. 275, and 500 at Tls. 277.5.

To provide the investment of the season the Council received on Company's account the following stock:

	Prime cost. f.o.b.	Realized. Tael.	Per cent. Profit + Loss —
Broadcloth: 3,374 Hf. cloths	£33,089	89,051	— 10.0
Long Ells: 9,306 pieces	£21,822	63,280	— 2.9
Broadcloth: 118 Hf. cloths	£ 1,768	4,007	— 24.5
Lead: 2,688 piculs	£ 2,507	10,752	+ 43.3
	£59,186	167,090	— 5.9
Redwood: 1,127 piculs Pag.	1,651	4,511	+153.0
Cotton: 781 „ Rup.	12,841	8,982	+113.8
Pepper: 1,277 „	33,668	19,161	+ 74.2
Sandalwood: 1,783 „	60,000	41,015	+109.2
	Tls. 36,583	73,669	+101.4
	Tls. 214,141	240,759	+ 12.4

In addition to this provision, in conformity with the orders of the Court of Directors, the Governor and Council of Bombay had bought bills on Canton, to be paid by the Agents (private English) of Merchants of Bombay, at the exchange of 306 Bombay rupees = 100 Taels, payable on November 30th, for a total of 200,000 B.R., the equivalent of 65,385 Taels. The same result was obtained by the Governor and Council of Fort William by

¹ From Bombay, English drab cloth.

another method. Mr. Warren Hastings had the previous season advertised his willingness to lend money at Calcutta, which should be repaid at Canton, but without result; ¹ but on December 24, 1773, he wrote informing the Canton Council that Captain Thomas Mercer of the country ship *Crescent* had at various dates from October 8th to December 22nd borrowed a total of 300,000 current rupees and given his bond for repayment at Canton:

Payment of the above is to be demanded from Captain Mercer at the exchange of 100 Current rupees for 41 weighty Dollars with Interest after the rate of 8 ¾ Cent ¾ Annum from the periods at which he received the money here untill the time he discharges the obligation at China which must be entirely done within 12 Months from the date of the Bond.

Including interest, Captain Mercer paid at Canton the sum of 132,005 dollars = Tls. 94,961. The Governor and Council of Fort St. George were unable to send or lend any money; but they freighted space on the two London ships to their commanders, who paid at Canton the freight, Tls. 2,475.

From the commanders and officers of the four ships were received the sum of 71,285 dollars = Tls. 51,208, for which certificates on the Court of Directors were granted. Not all availed themselves of this indulgence, but the maximum allowed for each was as follows:

Commander	.	.	.	.	Dollars	14,622	(56 shares)
Chief Mate	.	.	.	.	"	1,294	(5 ")
Second "	.	.	.	.	"	1,035	(4 ")
Third "	.	.	.	.	"	776	(3 ")
Fourth "	.	.	.	.	"	518	(2 ")
Fifth "	.	.	.	.	"	259	(1 ")
Surgeon	.	.	.	.	"	776	(3 ")
Purser	.	.	.	.	"	776	(3 ")
Warrant and Petty Officers, each	.	.	.	.	"	259	(1 share each)

The summary of the resources available to the Council for procuring the season's investment was as follows:

Carry-over from 1773	.	.	.	.	Tls. 514,872
Stock brought in ships: from England,	167,090	}			" 240,759
" India,	73,669				
Funds from India: from Bombay,	65,385				
" Bengal,	94,961				
Funds from India: from Madras	.	.	.	.	" 2,475
Received against certificates	.	.	.	.	" 51,208

Total Tls. 969,660

¹ Cf. *antea*, p. 177.

The trade in the principal commodities during the season was, as reported by the Linguists, the following:

	<i>English.</i>		<i>Dutch.</i>	<i>French.</i>	<i>Danish.</i>	<i>Swedish.</i>
	<i>Company.</i>	<i>Country.</i>				
No. of Ships . . .	4	15	4	7	2	2
<i>Imports.</i>						
Cloth, Hf. pieces . .	3,492	40	17	1,812	75	..
Camlets, Pieces . .	..	..	250	114	..	..
Long Ells, „ . .	9,306	..	..	480	..	..
Lead, Piculs . .	5,506	566	3,572	8,456	4,976	2,582
Flints, „ . .	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rabbit Skins, No. . .	..	..	..	..	..	..
Clocks, „ . .	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mirrors, „ . .	76	24	8	189	..	..
Tin, Piculs . .	3,412	19,360	16,820	2,613	1,488	..
Cotton, „ . .	14,198	27,016	207	4,441	..	..
Pepper, „ . .	133	6,341	8,328	2,536	933	..
Sandalwood, „ . .	4,668	4,165	3,226	169	..	..
Redwood & Ebony „ . .	3,208	400	..	13,323	68	..
Silver Dollars, Chests	..	24	60	155	30	55
<i>Exports.</i>						
Tea, Piculs . .	14,716	3,314	27,989	34,467	24,281	30,661
Raw Silk, „ . .	1,293	369	111	25	..	23
Woven Silks, Pieces	..	3,348	3,117	..	..	..
Chinaware, Piculs . .	?	4,095	2,830	2,183	1,117	2,015
Tutenague, „ . .	..	5,998	..	3,242	905	589

The Bombay Council were urged to send in one chest only one sort of rupees, as it was found very difficult to settle accounts when the sorts were mixed. Sixteen chests (160,000 rupees) received in 1773 were paid away as being unmixed Bombay rupees, assaying 5 per cent. better than dollars, but were found on assay in Canton to be mixed and to be worth only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. better. In addition 652 rupees were 'entirely copper without the least mixture of Silver'. Adjusting this account of Tls. 49,002 cost the Canton Council Tls. 941.

On November 23rd the customary letters, conveying to them the Court's prohibition of their continued stay in China, were written to the following 'private English':

Charles Crommelin.

George Smith.

William Dalrymple.

William Hamson.

Mr. Crommelin and Mr. Hamson at once declared that 'the situation of [their] affairs absolutely required [their] staying in

China this year', but assured the Council that their 'conduct shall not in any shape prejudice the Interests of the Hon'ble Company or occasion you any trouble'. The other two appear to have paid no attention.

Repeated attempts were made to induce Sy Anqua to pay his debt of Tls. 7,251 due to the Company, and the Viceroy was appealed to more than once, but without avail. Finally Puan Khequa assumed the debt, and his account was debited with the amount.

During this season, in addition to the six supercargoes, there were eight writers in the factory, drawing the uniform salary of £100 a year, viz.—

Abraham Roebuck,	fourth year as Writer	. Tls. 300
Henry Browne	" "	. " 300
John Harrison,	second "	. " 300
George Cuming	" "	. " 300
Alexander Bruce	" "	. " 300
Charles Edward Pigou,	" "	. " 300
Henry Lane	first "	. " 300
David Lance	" "	. " 300

The Council returned to Canton from Macao on July 24th, but their first ship, the *Bessborough* from Bombay, had anchored at Whampoa sixteen days earlier, on the 8th. No intimation having been received that the Hoppo was ready to measure the ship, the Council applied on the 26th to the Merchants for lighters to bring up to Canton the musters of cotton, sandalwood, and pepper.

To the above Application they severally replied, that from the Hoppo's being new in Office, and from the avidity of his deputies who were by no means satisfied with the usual fees of Office, many difficulties had occurred in opposition to carrying on the Business, particularly the heavy impositions those Officers lay under, and other hardships they inflict on the Linguists. That they also demanded the Merchants should double the *douceur* for privilege of the Flag granted to the Europeans which of late years 2000 Dollars hath been deem'd sufficient. They say that the Mandareens are continually laying new impositions, and constantly making it more expensive to the Securities appointed for the Ships against which [they] are now endeavouring to make terms, therefore none has yet been appointed for the *Bessborough*, and untill that appointment no merchandize can be taken out. They begged us to have patience assuring us at the same time, that these obstructions must in a few days subside.

Five days later, twenty-four days after the arrival of the ship, on August 1st the Linguists reported to the Council that, 'all diffi-

culties relative to Commerce being settled with the Mandareens', the Hoppo would measure the *Bessborough* on the 3rd—which was done. An outcry against the Hoppo was raised, however, and on September 13th

on sending for the Linguist to take out a Chop for shipping the Bessborough's China Ware, he reported no Custom house Business could be transacted tomorrow as the Hoppo was degraded, and on enquiry we found that an express had last night arrived requiring the Tsontoc immediately to send the Hoppo to Peking under an arrest.

The Kwangchow Fu was designated to act as Hoppo; but he died on October 21st; 'in consequence all business whatever is stopt at the Hoppo houses'. The Waichow Fu was then brought to Canton to act in the double capacity, but on October 27th, Notice having been received that the Hoppo is within a few days journey of this place, the Books at the several Hoppo houses are shut till his arrival.

Shipping was resumed on November 1st. The *Bessborough* and the *Ceres*¹ were ready to be dispatched on November 20th:

Both the above Ships are detained for their Grand Chops, which we are informed are prevented being granted because the several Merchants have not discharged their Duties to the Hoppo, who continues to insist on their clearing the Customs before the Ship departs.

The supercargoes waited for four days longer, and then they called a conference of the Hong Merchants.

The many messages have been sent, and applications made, we cannot hear anything certain relative to the *Ceres's* Grand Chop, We therefore thought the most speedy, and sure method to discover the true cause of the delay, was to desire the attendance of the Hong Merchants who in the Evening complied with our request, when Tinquia the Security Merchant for the *Ceres* assured us, that he had used every method in his power to procure it, but as the Hoppo Judged from the small proportion the export bore to the import Duties, that Goods has been sent on board by illicit methods and therefore he refused granting the Chop till he was well assured there had been no mal practices made use of, for defrauding the Emperor of his legal duties, He was answered, that himself as well as the other Merchants present, well knew that we were in no shape concerned with the duties, and that they must from custom immemorial be convinced We had a right to demand the immediate departure of our Ships, as soon as they were loaded, and all accounts settled with our Merchants, which if in this instance was not complied with, we must be

¹ In a total of thirty-four ships at Whampoa this season, three were named *Ceres*: one English Company from London, one English Country ship from Bombay, one Dutch Company from Holland.

obliged to deliver a Chop to the Hoppo for redress, as we could by no means remain silent on a matter of great consequence, and that if any further delay was caused, we should hold the Security Merchant responsible for all Charges that accrued thereby to the Honble Company, for notwithstanding what he urged we had great reason to suspect that the sole cause of this impediment proceeded from his having been remiss in discharging the duties, or very backward in paying the fees of Office. He replied that he hoped we would postpone our resolution for one day which would give him an opportunity of setting this Affair in a clear light to the Hoppo when he made not the least doubt he should be able to procure the Grand Chop on or before tomorrow evening.

The Grand Chop of the *Ceres* was received and delivered to the Purser at 6 p.m. on November 26th. There was the same delay over the issue of the Grand Chop of the *True Briton*, which was ready for dispatch on December 22nd, but received her Grand Chop in the evening of the following day. The Dutch had their four ships ready for dispatch on December 30th; three seem to have got away, but seven days later, on January 6th, 'one of the Dutch Ships has been detained till this day for the Grand Chop'.

PRICE CURRENT OF GOODS AT CANTON, 1774

IMPORTS

	Tales.	M.	C.	
Amber, Fine white large pieces	11	5	"	Catty
" False if very fine	12	"	"	Pchl.
Arrack, Batavia	36	"	"	Leag
Assafoetida, Fine	7	"	"	Pchl.
Benjamin, First sort	Unsaleable.			
Beetlenut, Batavia and Malacca	3	"	"	"
" Cochin China	3	5	"	"
Birds nests, very fine & transparent	1,200	"	"	"
" " 2nd sort, commonly called the First	700	"	"	"
" " 3rd sort	450	"	"	"
Bee's wax, very best	18	"	"	"
Black Wood	3	"	"	"
Camphire Barroes, all real Head, thin White flakes, of this are brought a few Catty's	20	"	"	Catty
Camphire Barroes, 2nd sort Head as usually sent	1,080	"	"	Pchl.
" " Belly & Foot	Unsaleable.			
Cow Bezoar, round light yellow pieces	8	"	"	Catty
Cloves, 1st sort & Free from worms	250	"	"	Pchl.
Cocheneal, very fine	5	2	"	Catty
Beeche de mar, or Swallow, 1st sort black long pieces	24	"	"	Pchl.
Beeche de mar, 2nd sort	16	"	"	"
Cuttings, Scarlet thin & fine	140	"	"	"
" Colours	90	"	"	"
Cotton, Surat	11	"	"	"

	Tales.	M.	C.	
Cornelian Beads, from Bombay, bright red .	100	"	"	Pecl.
Cotch Pegu, black large pieces	4	"	"	"
" " white square "	4	"	"	"
Copper, Japan	19	"	"	"
Coral Beads and Branch Coral	According to the Quality.			
Elephants Teeth, 3 to a Pecul	45	"	"	Pecl.
" " 4 to "	41	"	"	"
" " 5 to "	38	"	"	"
" " 6 to "	36	"	"	"
Flints	1	5	"	"
Fish Maws, very best	12	"	"	"
Ginseng, Canada, Fine	150	"	"	"
Lead	4	"	"	"
" Red	Unsaleable			
Myrrh, best sort	30	"	"	"
" ordinary	Unsaleable.			
Nutmegs, Free from worms	100	"	"	"
Olibanum, Garbled and in Chests . . .	2	4	"	"
" ungarbled	2	"	"	"
Pepper, Batavia & Bencoolen	11	"	"	"
" Malabar	12	"	"	"
Putchuck (15 $\frac{3}{4}$ Ct. to be deducted in the weight Free from Dust & no black pieces) . .	25 or 26	"	"	"
Pearls according to their quality.				
Quick Silver	32 a 33	"	"	"
Rattans	3	"	"	"
Rose maloes, Fine	32	"	"	"
Redwood	3	5	"	"
Rabbit Skins, Good	3	"	"	each
Sharks Fins, best & largest	24	"	"	Pecl.
" " 2nd Sort	16	"	"	"
Smalts, 1st sort	100	"	"	"
" 2nd sort.	24	"	"	"
Sandal wood, 1st sort, 13 pieces to a Pecul .	21	"	"	"
" " 2nd sort commonly called first .	16	"	"	"
" " 3rd sort	13	"	"	"
" " Tymore, large pieces	10 a 12	"	"	"
Seed Pearl Surat	10	"	"	Catty
Sagoe	4	"	"	Pecl.
Tin	12	5	"	"
Tortoise Shell, thick & good	100	"	"	"
" " Ordinary	30 a 40	"	"	"

EXPORTS

	Tales.	M.	C.	
Allum, Amoy	3	3	"	Pecl.
Borax	45	"	"	"
China root	2	2	"	"
Cinnabar	160 a 180	"	"	"
Camphire	22	"	"	"
Cassia	30	"	"	"
" Flower	18	"	"	"

EXPORTS—continued.

	Tales.	M.	C.	
Dragons Blood				None in y ^e place.
Dammer	1	4	"	Pecl.
Galingall	2	2	"	"
Gamboge, very little in the place	150	"	"	"
Gold of 88 Touch, 135 Tales Silver $\frac{3}{4}$ 10 Tales weight.				
Hartall, or yellow Arsenick	11	"	"	"
Musk	24	"	"	Catty
Rhubarb, 1st sort	24	"	"	Pecl.
Sugar	4	"	"	"
Sugar Candy, Cochin China				None in y ^e place.
" " Chinchew	9	4	"	"
Tutenague	5	8	"	"
Turnerick	3	8	"	"
Quick Silver, China	40	"	"	"

PRICES OF GOLD AT CANTON, 1774

	Touch.	T.	Ps.	T.
Tzylin	96	10	165	287
Saucam	94	10	158	2,960 TW Dust
Cochin China	94	10	152	45
Souchow	76	10	135	930
Sycam, None.				
Pagodas	73	10	160	3,000 TW.

APPENDIX AL

In 1926 the India Office acquired for its records the log of the East India Company's ship *Hindustan*, which conveyed the suite of Lord Macartney's Embassy to China in 1793. From it has been taken the following list of thirteen Company's ships which were dispatched from Canton on March 9, 1794, under convoy of H.M.S. *Lion*.

	<i>Tons, B. M.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
Glatton . . .	1,200	26	135
Royal Charlotte .	1,252	26	130
Exeter . . .	1,200	26	135
Warley . . .	1,175	26	132
Lord Walsingham .	560	18	76
Osterley . . .	775	26	102
Lion . . .	..	64	400
Earl of Abergavenny	1,182	26	135
Hindustan . . .	1,248	30	137
Hawke . . .	799	26	100
Ceres . . .	1,180	26	127
Triton . . .	800	26	103
Henry Dundas .	802	26	102
Lord Thurlow . .	805	26	105
		398	1,919

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SHIPS TRADING TO CHINA, 1743-74

Year.	Ship.	Charter Tonnage.	Chinese Units.	Measure.			Remarks.
				Basic.	Present.	Total.	
1743	Haeslingfield	498		Tls.	Tls.	Tls.	
"	Harrington	498					
1744	Hardwick (Amoy)	498					
"	*York	498					
"	*Stafford	498					
"	*Northampton	498					
1745	London	498					
"	*Dolphin	370					
"	Augusta	499					
"	*Walpole	498					
1746	Onslow	490					
"	Shaftesbury	498					
"	Sandwich	498					
"	Tavistock	498					
"	Prince Edward	498					
"	Walpole	498					
1747	Lynn	498	171.3				
"	*Exeter	498					
"	St. George	498					
"	Stafford	498					
"	York	498					
"	Prince of Wales	498					
"	Bombay Castle	498					
"	Princess of Wales	498					
"	Princess Emilia	498					
"	Onslow	490					

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SHIPS TRADING TO CHINA, 1743-74—continued.

Year.	Ship.	Charter Tonnage.	Chinese Units.	Measureage.		Total.	Security Merchant.	Remarks.
				Basic.	Present.			
1753	Griffin	499		Tls.	Tls.			
"	Royal Duke	499						
"	Harcourt	499						
"	*Boscawen	499						
"	*Clinton	499						
"	*Suffolk	499						
"	*Marlborough	499						
"	*Stafford	499						
1754	Lord Anson	499						
"	Triton	499						
"	Princess Augusta	499						
"	True Briton	499						
"	Onslow	499						
"	Stafford	499						
"	Essex	499						
"	Ilchester	499						
1755	Drake	499						
"	Earl of Holderness (at Ningpo)	499						
"	Rhoda	499	178.9	1,332	1,950	3,282		
"	Prince of Wales	499						
"	Prince George	499						
"	Griffin (at Ningpo)	499	182.7	1,421	1,950	3,371		
1756	Houghton	499						
"	Harcourt	499						
"	Stormont	499						
"	Godolphin	499						

283-5	"	Suffolk	499	185-6	1,382	1,950	3,332
	1757	Caernarvon	499				
	"	Onslow (at Ningpo)	499	165-1	1,309	1,950	3,259
	"	Royal Duke	499				
	"	Sandwich	499				
	"	Triton	499				
	"	*Norfolk	499				
	"	*Princess Augusta	499				
	1758	Boscawen	499				
	"	Tavistock	499				
	"	Fox					
	"	Hawk					
	"	Prince Henry	499				
	"	Osterley	499				
	1759	Pitt	600	201-8	1,503	1,950	3,453
	"	Success	70		Exempted.		
	"	Winchelsea	499	182-5	1,359	1,950	3,309
	"	Prince of Wales	499	186-8	1,393	1,950	3,343
	"	Drake	499	183-1	1,363	1,950	3,313
	"	Rhoda	499	178-3	1,328	1,950	3,278
	"	Britannia	499	181-6	1,353	1,950	3,303
	"	Tilbury	499	187-4	1,396	1,950	3,346
	"	Walpole	499	188-4	1,406	1,950	3,356
	"	Chesterfield	499	182-0	1,356	1,950	3,306
	"	Edgecote	499	187-4	1,396	1,950	3,346
	"	Hector	499	178-2	1,327	1,950	3,277
	"	Essex	499	196-2	1,462	1,950	3,412
	1760	Valentine	499	185-9	1,384	1,950	3,334
	"	Suffolk	499	185-3	1,380	1,950	3,330
	"	Griffin	499	182-4	1,359	1,950	3,309

To Ningpo, but returned to Canton.

Puan Khequa.
Sweetia.
Chetqua.

* Name taken from Hardy's *Register of Shipping* only.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SHIPS TRADING TO CHINA, 1743-74—continued.

Year.	Ship.	Charter Tonnage.	Chinese Units.	Measure.			Total.	Security Merchant.	Remarks.
				Basic.	Present.	Tls.			
1760	Pocock	499	184.9	Tls. 1,377	Tls. 1,950	Tls. 3,327			
"	Oxford	499	185.4	1,381	1,950	3,331		Puan Khequa. From Manila.	
"	Princess Augusta	499	"	"	"	"			} Arrived and left in spring of 1761.
"	Warwick	499	"	"	"	"			
"	Caernarvon	499	"	"	"	"			
"	Denham	499	"	"	"	"			Burned in Benkulen to avoid capture by French.
1761	Triton	499	189.6	1,412	1,950	3,362			
"	Norfolk	499	174.2	1,405	1,950	3,355		Puan Khequa.	
"	Duke of Richmond	499	189.1	1,409	1,950	3,359		Si Honqua.	
"	Neptune	499	190.9	1,421	1,950	3,371		Sweetia.	
"	Prince Henry	499	181.5	1,352	1,950	3,302		Puan Khequa.	
"	Royal George	400	153.8	1,052	1,950	3,002		Company's own Ship.	
"	Worcester	499	188.8	1,407	1,950	3,357			
"	Prince George	499	192.2	1,432	1,950	3,382			
"	Pitt	600	212.6	1,683	1,950	3,633			
1762	*Essex	499							
"	*Royal Charlotte	499							
"	*Elizabeth	499							
"	*Horseidon	499							
"	*Albion	499							
"	*Harcourt	499							
1763	Grosvenor	499							
"	Houghton	499							
"	Havannah	499							
"	Cruttenden	499							
"	Hawke	499							

"	Falmouth	499							
"	Neptune	499							
"	Egmont	499							
"	Hector	499							
"	Pitt	499							
1764	Glatton	499	200·7	1,495	1,950	3,445	Chetqua.		
"	Pocock	499	187·2	1,394	1,950	3,344	Si Hunqua.		
"	Valentine	499	188·5	1,404	1,950	3,354	Puan Khequa.		
"	Latham	499	189·7	1,413	1,950	3,363	Yngshaw.		
"	British King	499	197·4	1,470	1,950	3,420	Puan Khequa.		
"	Lord Clive		199·4	1,485	1,950	3,435	Si Hunqua.		
"	Norfolk	499	188·0	1,400	1,950	3,350	Chetqua.		
"	Pitt		207·2	1,543	1,950	3,493	Puan Khequa.		
"	Northumberland	499	201·4	1,500	1,950	3,450	Chetqua.		
"	Lord Holland	499	210·2	1,565	1,950	3,515			
"	Worcester	499	189·1	1,408	1,950	3,358			
"	Earl of Lincoln	499	201·5	1,501	1,950	3,451			
"	London Packet		75·9	363	1,950	2,313	Yngshaw. A third rate.		
"	Princess Augusta	499	182·4	1,359	1,950	3,309	Puan Khequa.		
1765	H.M.S. Argo	Carrying treasure for Company : measured.							
"	Admiral Pocock								
"	Earl of Elgin	499							
"	York	499							
"	Talbot	499							
"	Salisbury	499							
"	Dutton	499							
"	Ankerwyke	499							
"	Duke of Gloucester	499							
"	Duke of Richmond	499							
"	Thames	499							

* Name taken from Hardy's Register of Shipping only.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SHIPS TRADING TO CHINA, 1743-74—continued.

Year.	Ship.	Charter Tonnage.	Chinese Units.	Measure.		Total.	Security Merchant.	Remarks.
				Basic.	Present.			
1765	Grosvenor	499		Tls.	Tls.	Tls.		
"	Horsendon	499						
"	Royal Captain	499						
"	Tilbury	499						
"	Essex	499						
1766	*Prince of Wales	499						
"	*Earl of Ashburnham	499						
"	*Plassey	499						
"	*Neptune	499						
"	*Lioness	499						
"	*Duke of Kingston	499						
"	*Glutton	499						
"	*Hampshire	499						
"	*Deptford	499						
"	*Duke of Cumberland	499						
"	*Havannah	499						
"	*Hawke	499						
1767	Osterley	499						
"	Triton	499						
"	Northumberland	499						
"	Earl of Lincoln	499						
"	Latham	499						
"	Houghton	499						
"	Vansittart	499						
"	British King	499						
1768	London	499	203.5	1,515	1,950	3,465		Si Hunqua.

"	Duke of Gloucester	499	204-1	1,520	1,950	3,470	Puan Khequa.
"	Grosvenor	499	199-0	1,481	1,950	3,431	Chetqua.
"	Lord Mansfield	499	189-3	1,410	1,950	3,360	Yngsha.
"	Harcourt	499	204-0	1,519	1,950	3,469	Puan Khequa.
"	Pacifick	499	204-8	1,525	1,950	3,475	Chetqua.
"	Asia	499	192-6	1,435	1,950	3,385	Si Hunqua.
"	Clive	499	193-2	1,458	1,950	3,408	Yngsha.
"	Tilbury	499	188-4	1,403	1,950	3,353	Si Hunqua.
"	True Briton	499	196-5	1,465	1,950	3,415	Puan Khequa.
"	Horsendon	499	195-5	1,456	1,950	3,406	Chetqua.
"	Sea Horse	499	195-7	1,473 sic	1,950	3,423	Yngshaw.
1769	Ponsborne	499	..	..	..	..	} Ships of 1768 lost their passage.
"	Granby	499	..	..	..	..	
"	Cruttenden	499					
"	Glatton	499					
"	Plassey	499					
"	Triton	499					
"	Nottingham	499					
"	Pigot	499					
"	Hector	499					
"	Speke	499					
"	Earl of Lincoln	499					
"	Earl of Ashburnham	499					
"	Havannah	499					
"	Osterley	499					
"	Norfolk	499					
"	Neptune	499					
"	Devonshire	499					
"	Earl of Middlesex	499					
1770	Lord Camden	499					
"							

* Name taken from Hardy's Register of Shipping only.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SHIPS TRADING TO CHINA, 1743-74—continued.

Year.	Ship.	Charter Tonnage.	Chinese Units.	Measure.		Total.	Security Merchant.	Remarks.
				Basic.	Present.			
1770	Royal Captain	499		Tls.	Tls.	Tls.		
"	Latham	499						
"	Kent	499						
"	Valentine	499						
"	Duke of Gloucester	499						
"	Hawke	499						
"	Princess Royal	499						
"	Bridgewater	499						
"	Huntingdon	499						
"	Prime	499						
"	Resolution	499						
1771	British King	499	..	..	..	..		
"	Earl of Elgin	499	..	..	..	..		
"	Stafford	499	..	..	..	..		
"	Bute	499	..	..	..	..		
"	Northumberland	499						
"	Glatton	499						
"	Sea Horse	499						
"	Calcutta	499						
"	Cruttenden	499						
"	Thames	499						
"	York	499						
"	Horændon	499						
"	Pacific	499						
"	Grenville	499						
"	Duke of Richmond	499						

} Ships lost passage in 1770.

"	Salisbury	499	229.2	1,707	1,950	3,657	Puan Khequa.
"	Queen	499	218.7	1,629	1,950	3,579	Tinqua.
"	Grosvenor	499	210.3	1,566	1,950	3,516	Yngshaw.
"	Talbot	499	198.3	1,477	1,950	3,427	Chowqua.
"	Ankerwyke	499	202.2	1,506	1,950	3,456	Munqua.
1772	Granby	499	198.6	1,480	1,950	3,430	Kewshaw.
"	Osterley	499	200.8	1,495	1,950	3,445	Teonqua.
"	London	499	219.2	1,651	1,950	3,601	Puan Khequa.
"	Havannah	499	210.1	1,565	1,950	3,515	Yngshaw.
"	Lord Camden	499	171.0	1,274	1,950	3,224	Chowqua.
"	Earl of Lincoln	499	234.3	1,745	1,950	3,695	Sy Anqua.
"	Lioness	499	194.1	1,446	1,950	3,396	Tinqua.
"	Fox	499	219.0	1,631	1,950	3,581	
"	Norfolk	499					
"	Earl of Ashburnham	499					
"	Royal Henry	499					
"	Anson	499					
"	Gatton	499					
1773	Royal Charlotte	499					
"	Duke of Kingston	499					
"	Princess Royal	499					
"	Royal Captain	499					
"	Valentine	499					
"	Worcester	499					
"	Kent	499					
"	Ponsborne	499					
"	Prime	499					
"	Stormont	499					
1774	Bessborough	804	246.4	1,836	1,950	3,786	Puan Khequa.
"	Ceres	723	211.4	1,575	1,950	3,525	Tinqua.
"	True Briton	758	218.5	1,628	1,950	3,578	Kewshaw.
"	Royal Charlotte	758	227.7	1,696	1,950	3,646	

INDEX

Ch. = China, Chinese
 Eng. = England, English
 E.I.C. = English East India Company
 incl. = including, included

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